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Editor's Notebook

Steps in Time

R. B. Jones, a columnist for the *Baltimore Times*, has accused this magazine of publishing "racist garbage" in the excerpt entitled "Everybody Must Get Stoned" from the book *Hep-Cats, Narcs, and Pipe Dreams: A History of America's Romance with Illegal Drugs* by the Baltimore scholar/journalist Jill Jonnes (*MdHM*, Summer 1996). Mr. Jones surely knows the pernicious quality of the adjective "racist," especially when it is tossed about casually in a critique of a few highlighted sentences that are out of context. In Jill Jonnes's work — our excerpt and the book from which it was drawn — there is blame enough — and tragedy — to go around: all races, all walks of life, young and old, in city and suburb. She documents, through interviews with persons who were there, the "hep" life (including drugs) on Pennsylvania Avenue in Baltimore in the late 1940s and 1950s, a scene that attracted young black men who had fought for their country in World War II, only to come home to full-throttle segregation and little opportunity. To deny the reality of these interviews is to deny history itself. We all are in it together, Mr. Jones, and that has been true for over a century — through opium, morphine, cocaine, heroin, and marijuana crazes, and all sorts of government reaction, under-reaction, and overreaction. We urge you to read the entire book, which was sponsored at the Ford Foundation by an African-American and edited at Scribner by an African-American. It covers fully the points of white culpability you mentioned in your column: the introduction of heroin into the U.S. by the Fredrich Bayer Company of Germany; the Harrison Narcotic Act of 1914 and its cloudy effects; the widespread waves of addiction, involving hundreds of thousands of Americans of all races, since the 1880s; and the cocaine addiction of a founder of the Johns Hopkins Hospital. And so much more. Yes, for all of us, black and white, so much more.

Our excerpt dealt only with one sad time in one city in the years leading up to the 1960s, when a significant part of a whole American generation fell under the sway of misguided white gurus like Timothy Leary and Allen Ginsberg and whites and blacks and Asians and Hispanics got mixed up in the supply and demand cycles of the recreational drug culture — with the devastating effects on *all* races that we live with today.

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By now you probably have read half a million words about the Republican and Democratic Conventions and how their made-for-television shows flummoxed network anchors who found them devoid of *news*. George Will got it right with his observation that "the face a party presents through a scripted convention reveals its mind and thus is news." Will further points out that "no law of God or nature says that the networks need to go on playing the role they played before

the proliferation of viewer's choices [CNN, C-Span, public television, etc.] back when the nation was the networks' captive audience."

Things have indeed changed since the state primaries, all vying for ascendancy, transferred the drama to other stages. We will get used to it. Still, I confess that I will miss the televised excitement of the old party gatherings (a ritual that began in Baltimore in 1832 when Andrew Jackson called a convention to slay "King Caucus"). Think of the suspense of the convention struggle between Taft's and Eisenhower's forces in 1952; or, in 1956, Adlai Stevenson throwing the vice presidential nomination to the floor (Estes Kefauver won); or the bitter struggle between the Goldwater and Rockefeller camps in 1964; or the scramble for delegates between Lyndon B. Johnson and John F. Kennedy in 1960. Big-time network careers were made of such all-American turmoil: Cronkite and Brinkley come especially to mind. Theodore White made a series of wonderful books out of the maneuverings when decisions were still made at the conventions.

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For three years, Jessica M. Pigza served as managing editor of this magazine. As our staff and our contributors will attest, she kept track of all of us with aplomb and wit and style. Now, as this issue goes to press, she is leaving to embark on a career in book publishing. We shall miss her. We thank her for a job well done and wish her well.

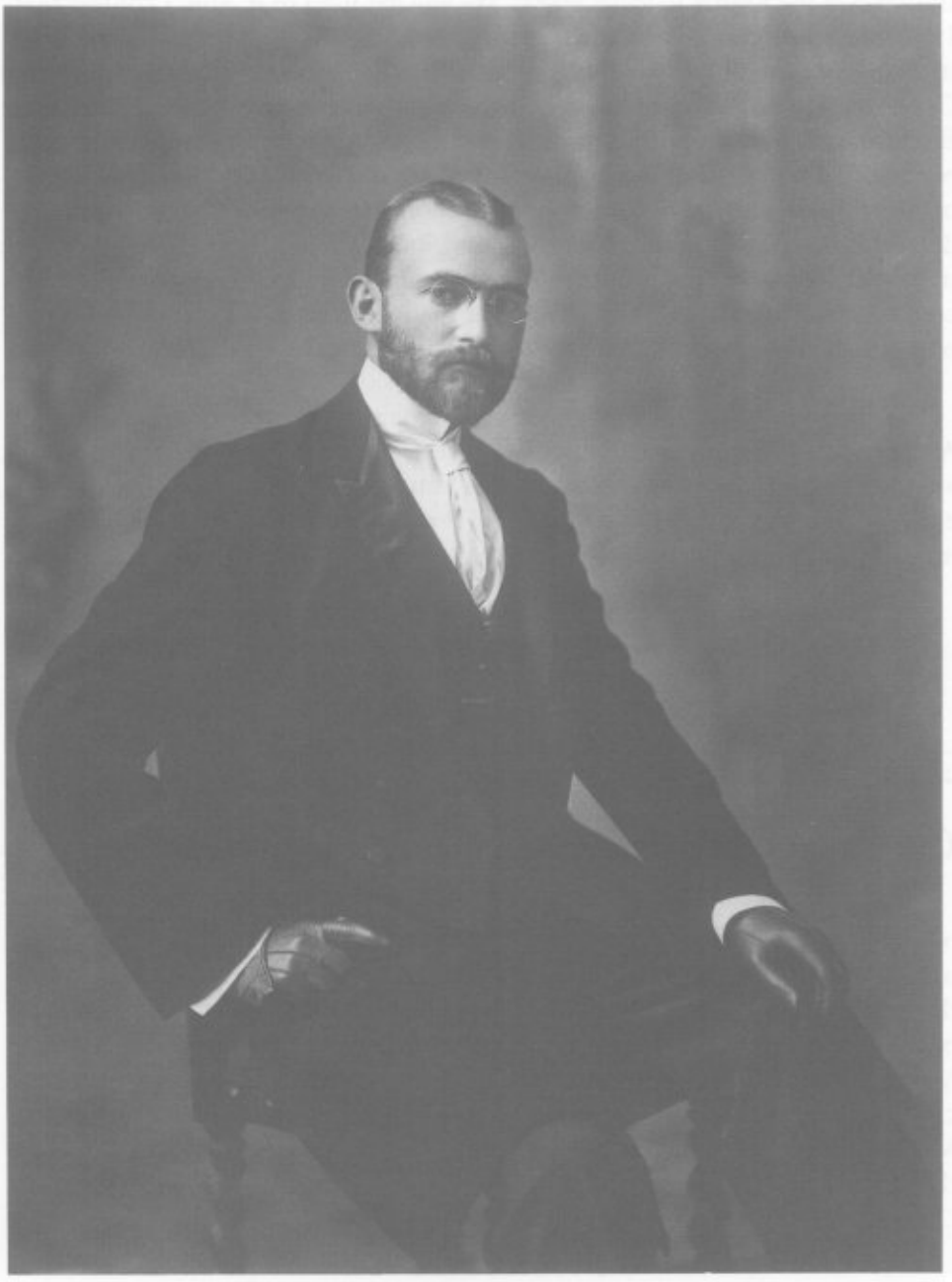
E.L.S.

Cover

Charles County Harvest, 1931

Charles County is one of Maryland's eight original counties, formed in 1658 on rich lands shaped on two sides by the broad Potomac River. The county grew to maturity from its agricultural base in colonial days. This photograph captures the continuity of that tradition. These farm boys are learning from a University of Maryland extension agent whose job took him out of the classroom to teach Maryland farmers how to treat disease and raise healthy animals and bountiful crops. As the year fades to autumn, farmers in Charles County and throughout Maryland are once again reaping their harvests in an agrarian rhythm older than the colony itself.

P.D.A.



John Work Garrett circa 1899. The grandson and namesake of the B&O Railroad president had little interest in business life and went on to gain an appointment to the U.S. diplomatic corps. (All photographs courtesy of the Evergreen Foundation of the Johns Hopkins University.)

What a Difference a Year Made: John Work Garrett Finds a Diplomatic Career

FAITH M. HOLLAND

Scion of a notable Baltimore family and grandson of the first president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, John Work Garrett (1872–1942) capped a long and honorable diplomatic career with his appointment in 1929 as the United States ambassador to Italy. After his first State Department assignment in 1901 as secretary to the American Legation at The Hague, his innate qualities—tact, meticulous attention to detail, fluency in many languages as well as an independent income—assured a steady rise as a career diplomat. During a three-year tour of duty as second secretary in Berlin (1905–1908) he met and married Alice Warder of Washington.

Promotion to secretary of the embassy in Rome came in 1908. During the Taft administration, continuing his ascent of the diplomatic ladder, he was minister to Venezuela and the Argentine, two South American countries at that time not deemed important enough to warrant U.S. embassies. Late in 1912 he took an extended leave from the State Department because of his wife's poor health, which was doubtless exacerbated by her dissatisfaction with living in Latin America after their more glamorous assignments in Berlin and Rome.

Living in Paris at the outbreak of World War I, he was immediately pressed into service as a special agent "to assist the American Ambassador at Paris in matters relating to the present political disturbances in Europe."[1] Stationed successively in Bordeaux, Paris, and Berne, before returning to ministerial duties at The Hague in 1918, he chaired commissions on the care and transportation of American refugees in Germany and the treatment of prisoners of war. In carrying out one of his onerous duties, inspection of prison camps on either side of the war zone, he was able to improve significantly conditions in which captured soldiers were held. Meanwhile, Alice Garrett, in her element in Paris, involved herself in war and refugee relief charities.

In 1921 his appointment as secretary general of the International Conference on Arms Limitation in Washington brought him into close contact with prominent politicians and diplomats representing the world powers. His foray

Faith M. Holland is research historian at the Evergreen House of the Johns Hopkins University. She is at present examining John Garrett's Princeton diaries.

into Republican politics in Maryland (running for nomination as the Republican candidate for the Senate in 1922) was unsuccessful. The rough-and-tumble of partisan politics required quite other talents than those of the self-effacing, quiet and bookish Garrett.

When in 1929 he was chosen by President Herbert Hoover to become ambassador to Italy, a post he held until 1932, he reached the apex of his long career. Decorated by the Italian and Venezuelan governments and awarded honorary degrees from Princeton and St. John's Colleges, he retired to Evergreen, the family estate outside Baltimore, continuing in the decade that remained to him to enjoy travel, his collections of books and coins, and the house parties and chamber music concerts organized by his wife. In that quieter time, he must have frequently recalled 1899, his *annus mirabilis,* a year that ended a long period of painful doubt and indecision about the path he would pursue in life.

Fin-de-Siècle Youth

What sort of year was 1899 for twenty-seven-year-old John Garrett? Scott Joplin's "Maple Leaf Rag" and the ballad "My Wild Irish Rose" were both published that year. Motion pictures and sound recording were in their infancy. Elgar's "Enigma Variations" and Sibelius's First Symphony were heard for the first time. Johann Strauss, Jr., died and Duke Ellington was born. Horatio Alger died and Ernest Hemingway was born. Edith Wharton, who would become a good friend of Garrett and his wife in Paris in World War I, brought out her first fiction, a collection of stories about sensitive independent-minded Americans abroad. American expatriate painters John Singer Sargent and James McNeill Whistler were painting elegantly revealing portraits of the nobility and nouveaux riches, aristocrats and art dealers.

Monarchs were still on the thrones of most European nations, Third Republic France being the exception: Leopold of Belgium; Alfonso of Spain; Umberto of Italy; Franz Joseph of Austria-Hungary; Wilhelm of Germany; Nicholas of Russia; Alexander of Serbia; Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, at whose court Garrett would be presented in 1903.

Two years remained of Victoria's reign, on the eve of the Edwardian era, which has been described as "an age of ostentation and extravagance [when] everything was larger than life. There was an avalanche of balls and dinners and country house parties. More money was spent on clothes, more food was consumed, more horses were raced, more infidelities committed, more birds shot, more yachts commissioned, more late hours kept. . . ."[2] Men wore fitted frock coats although the less formal lounge suit was gaining popularity. Top hats were *de rigueur* even during the day, as were high, stiff collars, vests and spats, walking sticks and canes—the latter a boon for John, lame since childhood. Women in their bell-shaped long skirts were freed from hoops and bus-

tles but fashion decreed lots of lace, extravagant decolleté in the evening, very long gloves, and feathers galore.

There were more serious developments to contemplate than the height of one's collar or the number of buttons on one's gloves. France was still divided by the infamous Dreyfus affair. Germany's naval expansion and growing interest in Africa and the Far East presented a challenge to the British Empire around the globe. Violent change was in the wings: a Social Democratic Party was formed in Tsarist Russia; the Habsburg dynasty was threatened by dissolution and there was constant turmoil in—where else?—the Balkans.

In May 1899, at a peace conference held in The Hague, the European powers established a Permanent Court of International Arbitration to deal with such matters as the Venezuelan boundary dispute, which would be within Garrett's purview in the early years of his diplomatic career.

On this side of the Atlantic, prosperity was returning after the Panic of 1893. Giant corporations and powerful banks were being formed. William McKinley was president. Republicans controlled both houses of Congress. Media giants William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer manipulated public opinion, and, backed by pressure from American sugar, tobacco, and mining industries, propelled the United States into war with Spain in 1898. Although a treaty of peace was signed in December of that year, hostilities broke out in the Philippines in February 1899. Sixty thousand U.S. troops were dispatched to those islands to put down the insurrection. Admiral Dewey's astonishing naval success in Manila Bay and the resulting Philippine base made the United States a new player on the world stage.[3]

This was a heady time for young Americans, especially one such as John Garrett with an intense interest in world affairs. He was well read, well traveled, well educated—but bored and frustrated by his life in an increasingly provincial Baltimore.

The Garretts of Baltimore

A history of the Garretts traces a familiar early nineteenth-century pattern, varying in detail but much like that of such successful Baltimore entrepreneurs as William Walters, George Peabody, Johns Hopkins, and Enoch Pratt. The first Robert Garrett emigrated from Ireland in 1790. He farmed in Pennsylvania before coming to make his fortune in a booming Baltimore by profitably extending a business based on trade in western commodities with canny investments in transportation, real estate, shipping, and banking.

His sons, Henry Stouffer and John Work Garrett, demonstrating equal business aptitude and probity, became Robert's partners in 1840. While bachelor Henry concentrated on the firm's financial side, John I became president of the B&O Railroad and married Rachel Harrison, a merchant's daughter, with whom he had four children. The brothers continued their father's practice of

philanthropy and community involvement, a tradition that would be carried on by succeeding generations.[4]

Despite Henry's outspoken pro-South bias (he was briefly jailed in 1861 on suspicion of disloyalty) and John's pragmatic support of the Union (Lincoln regarded the B&O as crucial in preventing Confederate troops from taking the nation's capital), the company weathered the Civil War and continued to prosper with profitable ventures in Chilean mines, coal, and crude oil and gas in western Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. John expanded the B&O lines west and south; Henry traded financial paper with Morgan banks in New York, London, and Paris.[5]

The next generation of Garrett men, Robert and T. Harrison, had the misfortune to succeed the grand old men in a period of extreme economic volatility, compounded by the circumstance that neither man lived to be fifty. Their untimely deaths may have accelerated the B&O's bankruptcy and the dwindling of Robert Garrett & Sons from a prestigious investment company to a small private bank by the turn of the century.

T. Harrison drowned in 1888 in a yachting accident, a year after his older brother's breakdown, brought on by financial reverses—a collapse that resulted in his permanent retirement from business. Both Garretts, Princeton-educated, were married to daughters of prominent old Baltimore families: Robert to Mary Frick in 1872 and Harrison to Alice Whitridge in 1870. Robert and Mary entertained lavishly in their palatial Mount Vernon house when they were not at Uplands, their country estate west of the city. Harrison and Alice with their three sons lived at Evergreen, on a suburban extension of Baltimore's North Charles Street, purchased for them by John I in 1878.[6]

More than railroad acquisitions, government bonds, and entertaining absorbed the Garretts' time and resources. The family's philanthropic tradition extended beyond the charitable good works expected of staunch Scots-Irish Presbyterians. Garretts of each generation were involved in founding hospitals and service organizations like the YMCA; donating lands for public parks; building churches and libraries; helping to found educational and cultural institutions: The Johns Hopkins University and Medical School; Bryn Mawr and Gilman Schools; the Academy of Music and the Baltimore Museum of Art.

Collecting also loomed large in the Garrett heritage. They amassed significant collections of books, coins, prints, drawings and paintings, Islamic manuscripts, and Chinese and Japanese art objects. To be a Garrett also meant traveling widely, often, and in style, as befitted a railroad magnate's family, on private cars and a steam yacht. A propensity for the "debonair," an adjective used by a colleague to describe Robert I in his counting house, was handed down to his great-grandson John; Uncle Robert's wardrobe was so flamboyant as to attract the attention of the press.[7]

Marking Time

In the winter of 1896, John Work Garrett began his business career—with little enthusiasm. He wrote with real pathos about starting out without a guide or his brother Ray, with whom he had once "imagined working to get the old firm going." John had sustained tragic losses. He was sixteen when the yachting accident claimed his father's life. In 1895–1896 came the ten-month ordeal of watching as Ray, his closest friend and brother, died an excruciatingly painful death from bone cancer. Now in November 1896, he and his younger brother Robert (Rob), a Princeton senior, were made partners in the fifty-seven-year-old firm. Uncle Robert, whom John extolled as "dear old kind-hearted" and who "had been worse than dead these 8 years," had died. His widow, Aunt Mary, and her financial advisors seemed to be working at cross purposes to the banking house. Aunt Mamie (John I's only daughter Mary Elizabeth Garrett) was not only causing scandal by her intimate relationship with Bryn Mawr College's president M. Carey Thomas but was also insisting that her own accountant be allowed to audit her father's estate records.[8]

As early as 1892, in his freshman year at Princeton, he had asked himself: "How can I ever settle down to be a business man, a banker or a railroader? . . . There is a splendid business waiting for us and we 3 are none too many, for it's hard work to enter without a father to show us what to do." The following year his distaste for business life was just as pronounced: "Banking, railroading, even birds do not interest me as much as politics now." He was candid about lacking confidence, particularly in his ability to speak persuasively: "I can't speak things tho I believe I can sometimes think them!" This he confided to his diary shortly before he delivered his first oration in Whig Hall, a Princeton debating society, on a topic that foreshadowed his future career: "American Diplomatic Representation Abroad." (In the years ahead, John would prove a diffident public speaker, which may have contributed to his failure to win the Republican senatorial nomination in Maryland in 1922.)

He knew that in this age of economic expansion the real business of America was Business. So, however reluctantly, John Work Garrett, impelled by an inherited Presbyterian ethos and a formidable family reputation for business acumen, entered on his ostensible life's work.

The B&O had gone into receivership in 1896, a move to keep the road out of J. P. Morgan's grasp, a decision John watched others make, men whom he thought fallible but was in no position to challenge. The settlement of his grandfather's and father's estates was in the hands of trustees and lawyers whom John wasn't sure were entirely trustworthy. Indeed two of the railroad's most powerful directors had opposed his election to the B&O board. His sense of inadequacy and doubt is patent. As he confessed in his diary, "I do not represent the Garrett interests nor even a large part of them. . . . If I knew whom to believe I would be bubbling over with suppressed merriment and could I

Horatio Whitridge (left), Robert, and John Work Garrett, circa 1890, showing off their fashionable top hats. Horatio's painful and tragic death from bone cancer in 1896 added to John Work's restlessness and discontent.

but find out whom to trust, then laughter and roundelay would hold sway." Serious as the business was, he distanced himself from what must have been a humiliating situation by translating his dilemma into veritable operetta terms.

For the next two years John absented himself more and more from the day-to-day operations of the firm. During two earlier summers with the Princeton Geological Survey, he had become enamored of the West, spending months at a time far from Baltimore. With college friends he had opened an insurance brokerage in Phoenix and invested in New Mexican and Colorado ranches and mines, none of which proved lucrative. He even wangled an appointment as Maryland's delegate to several National Irrigation Congresses which met in Phoenix and Cheyenne, and spent his winters out west. He was a rich young man dabbling in romantic western ventures, more excuses to be away from home and enjoy male camaraderie in the wide open spaces than bona fide money-making enterprises.[9]

Whenever he returned to Baltimore, the daily routine aggrieved him: "I come into town, spend 5 or 6 hours at my desk, come out again, have tea, read, write, eat dinner, read and turn in—no variant!" Aunt Mary and Aunt Mamie continued to be troublesome. Migraine headaches, rheumatic attacks, and eye pains afflicted him. His complaint that "this sort of life doesn't agree with me!" seemed literally true. "I don't know or can't decide what to buckle down to. As for the office there's nothing there to do save an occasional investment and that's risky work for an unskilled youngster. What my objective in life is I don't know. This lack of purpose is not only disagreeable, it's perverting whatever ability I have." When Princeton's librarian offered him a position as an archivist with faculty status, John may have felt that this was merely a sinecure offered to a devoted alumnus with deep pockets. His disparaging comment was a dry "it's hardly a possibility."

The de facto manager of Robert Garrett & Sons, Inc., German-born Charles Nitze, who had joined the firm in 1874, was, fortunately, a trusted family friend. The firm was now just a holding company for the Garrett family's investments with only a few old customers, and "the pace of business was slow, hardly more than three or four letters a day."[10] So John's frequent and lengthy absences from 11 South Street in Baltimore made little difference to the company's bottom line. As 1897 drew to a close, he contemplated getting out: "It will be my endeavor to get rid of insecure securities . . . and invest in A-1 bonds. This cuts down income but life's not worth living with constant business worry." A little later he wrote facetiously that he was "beginning to give up my ambition to be Secretary at St. Petersburg and am changing over in favor of some Philippine post. Who knows?" In light of what was about to happen, this was an amazingly prescient statement.

On his way home from a trek across Mexico the year before, John had seen Havana from a steamer deck and bemusedly noted that "everything looks so peaceful and quiet it is hard to believe a state of war exists. . . . Nobody knows

how long it will be before Cuba is free or enslaved again. . . . [I'm] in sympathy with the insurgents half-heartedly—more because of my inherited love of freedom than because of my inherent love of the cowardly & faint-hearted patriots." With the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor in February 1899, however, he, like so many of his compatriots, caught a virulent case of imperialist fever. Dewey's victory in Manila in May elicited a jubilant "Beyond credence!" and deepened his impatience with daily routine. "I begrudge every minute spent at the office. Wish I could give up the business . . . and go away . . . growing restless-er every day."

On New Year's Day 1899, John committed this *cri du coeur* to his diary:

> I saw the old year out with the feeling that I have accomplished absolutely nothing. . . . I must soon make up my mind to start in my life work, whatever that is to be. I am not very old [he was twenty-seven] but old enough to have a settled purpose. But I have none, except the rather chimerical one of getting into the diplomatic service. Well, we shall see. And here's praying God for good fortune, that he gives Dear Mother health and Jane [his brother Ray's widow] courage and Rob a new idea or two. And for myself, I want all sorts of things, God help me.[11]

After the death of her husband in 1888, Alice Garrett had left Baltimore to travel abroad with her sons and an entourage of tutors, companions, and servants, returning only in 1891, not to Baltimore but to Princeton, where she made her home while her sons matriculated. Since graduating in 1895, John had lived at Evergreen with his mother, Rob, and a constant stream of house guests—friends, relatives and college classmates—young men like Joe Flint, a Johns Hopkins medical student.[12] There was a continual round of teas, dances, and dinners with the family and the annual crop of debutantes; costume parties at the Kennels (a.k.a. the Elkridge Club); Spanish courses at Johns Hopkins; travel abroad and in the Southwest; flirtations with young women; forays to New York for opera and theater, and to New Haven or Princeton following the fortunes of the Tiger baseball and football teams.

Birds, books, and coin-collecting remained important hobbies. John took seriously the family philanthropic tradition.[13] He and Rob endowed a professorship in political science at their alma mater, and even hoped to see, with Woodrow Wilson's advice and encouragement, a school of jurisprudence and diplomacy established there.[14] He served on the board of the Country School as Gilman School was then known; contributed to the Johns Hopkins University during its financial crisis brought on by the B&O's bankruptcy; paid the Academy of Music's real estate bills, and made many other charitable donations, usually anonymously.[15]

As always, he read omnivorously—magazines, newspapers, and books;

Twain and Kipling with pleasure but Bernard Shaw's *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant* rather disapprovingly. Although he made no reference to it, one can assume, given his interest in the West, that he read Teddy Roosevelt's *The Rough Riders,* published in 1899. He probably did not read two other important books of that year: Booker T. Washington's *The Future of the American Negro* and Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* the latter a mordant critique of the Garretts' world. Much of his reading focused on world affairs—for example, Admiral Alfred Mahan's highly influential book on the importance of sea power.[16] He drew maps and made endless lists of the world's navies with numbers and classes of their ships and the colonial possessions of the imperial powers with population and land mass tables. This would seem to have been a richly satisfying life, but, as his diaries make clear, this was not what young Garrett wanted. His frustration and restlessness grew.

The Fateful Year

January 1899 opened inauspiciously with John and his mother taking the waters at Warm Springs, Georgia. He played billiards with a Princeton professor and "talked ornithology" with a pretty young Canadian before returning home.

Although Rob had been made partner at the same time as John, he is conspicuously absent from the earlier diaries. Rob's 1896 Olympic feats were mentioned, of course, as was his graduation speech as president of his class.[17] There was a passing reference to the possibility of his joining an expedition to Mesopotamia and John's rather acid plea to the Almighty "to give Rob a new idea or two." Whether the youngest Garrett had been putting as many or as few hours at the office as John, neither diaries nor letters reveal. From early 1899 on, Rob is mentioned more often—at lunches in town, playing billiards at the club, going to track meets, attending Evergreen parties. Perhaps as the elder was preparing to bow out, he was subconsciously bringing the younger man onto the scene so that he would feel less guilty about defecting from the family as well as the business.

Early that January, John talked with John Cowen, the B&O's general counsel, about his prospects for a diplomatic position. His calendar reveals frequent trips to Washington to visit senators' wives and others in the Garretts' wide circle of acquaintance. The motive for these visits was not purely social. John admitted in his diary that he liked to be around the movers and shakers, those who knew about politics, who had power and prestige.[18]

In February he was off to New Orleans and Texas, with college pals, for three raucous weeks of indulgence in late-night oyster suppers; gambling on horses, billiards, and cards; snipeshooting; drinking sour mashes; and very late hours. Back in Baltimore, facing the familiar tedium of the office and social rounds, the completely unexpected occurred, with a phone call on the very

night of his return. The diary for the next two weeks manifests his almost palpable excitement.

> Most astonishing thing sprung on me tonight. After dinner Dr. Barker called me up to talk about a trip he is about to take to Manila with a commission from the University, and a semi-send-off from the Government, to study tropical diseases. He simply wanted to ask me if Joe Flint couldn't be induced to go. . . . He wound up very pleasantly saying "I wish you were going with us." That put a bee in my bonnet! I decided business, politics, family—and God willing—or perhaps business & politics notwithstanding—to take him up. I went over it with Dear Mother—God bless her—and she suppressed all sorts of disinclinations and said yes. And then with Joe. It finally came down to "I will if you will."

Seven days later they were aboard a Chicago-bound train, headed for the Philippines by way of Vancouver, Japan, and Hong Kong, with around-the-world tickets, to be gone until September.

That momentous week found John busily rationalizing his decision.

> As to business—I cannot help feeling a deserter. Yet I realize I am not essential. Rob is easily capable of doing as well as I, to say the least. Aunt Mary has the Consolidation Coal Co. matter in hand & can work it out if it be possible. Other things are easily managed. Rob is left a good deal of work; he is willing to undertake it under the circumstances. His congé will come next winter, when I stay at home and he will go to Syria.

His mother's health, ever worrisome, was a concern, but by the end of the paragraph he had persuaded himself that she had seemed better "these last few days."

Clearly nothing short of a major catastrophe could deter him. "I feel that looking towards the realization of my ambitions, I can make great use of the opportunities . . . offered on this trip, to see administration in its early problematical stage, to meet 'men who do,' to get a little firsthand knowledge of the East—the coming theatre of the world's play—to prepare for a diplomatic career." Then on a less exalted note: "What a chance to rest on board ship!"

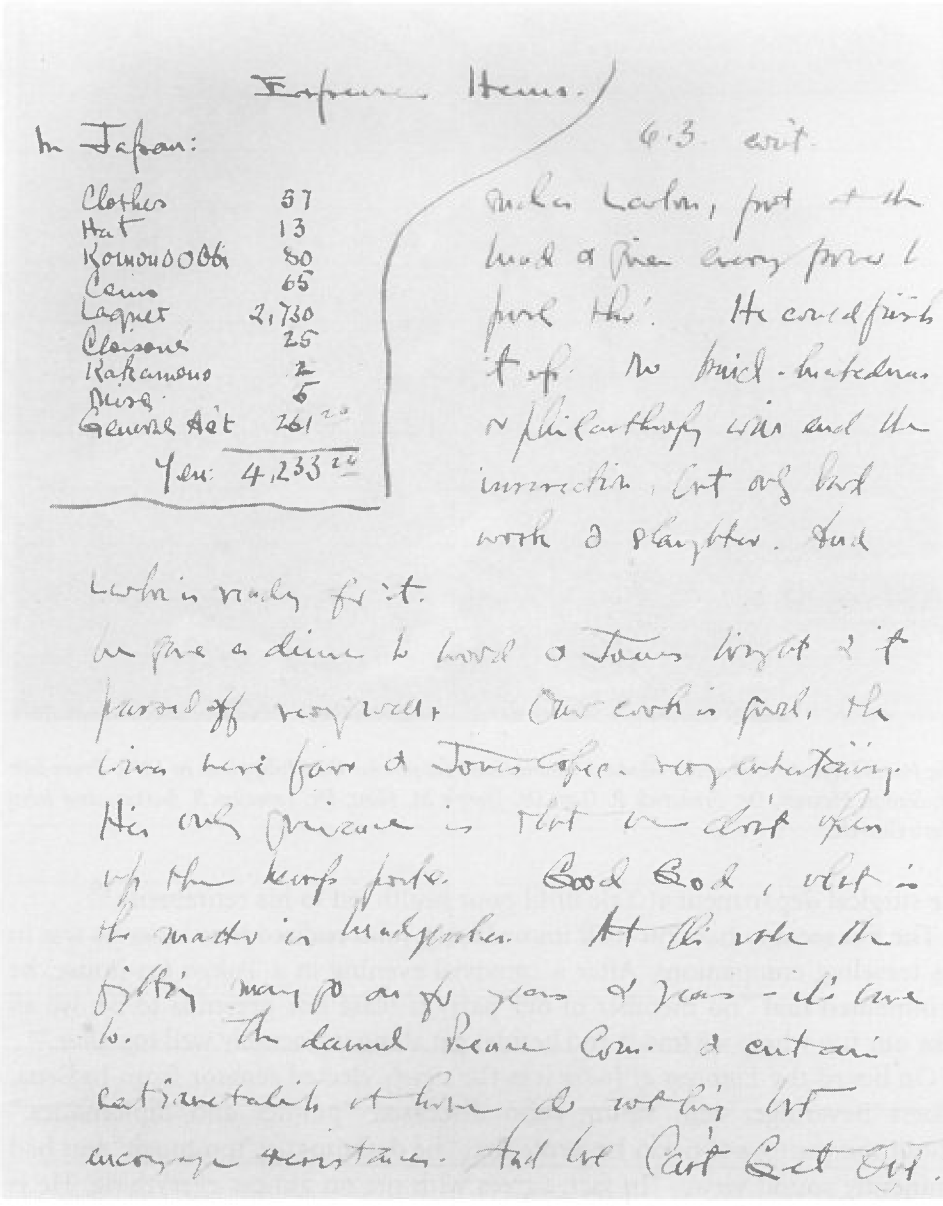
The members of the commission whom John accompanied to the Philippines were two professors of pathology at Johns Hopkins, Simon Flexner and Lewellys Barker. The senior man, Flexner, was already at thirty-six a brilliant research scientist as well as a superb educator and administrator; he would head the Rockefeller Medical Research Institute by 1910. While in Manila he discovered a widespread strain of dysentery bacilli which bears his name. Frederick Gay, a Harvard graduate and Flint's medical school classmate, went on to a distinguished career in academic medicine at Berkeley and Columbia. Flint headed

The Johns Hopkins University Medical Commission set sail for the Philippines in 1899. From left: Dr. Simon Flexner, Dr. Frederick P. Gay, Dr. Joseph M. Flint, Dr. Lewellys S. Barker, and John Work Garrett.

the surgical department at Yale until poor health led to his retirement.[19]

The five seem to have hit it off immediately. John realized how lucky he was in his traveling companions. After a convivial evening in a Tokyo tea-house, he commented that "no member of our party is blasé nor pretends to be, we all take our fun where we find it and besides get along immensely well together."

On board the *Empress of India* was the newly elected senator from Indiana, Albert Beveridge, with whom John discussed "politics and diplomatics." About the young politician he wrote that "he declaims . . . too much" but had eminently sound views. "In fact, agrees with me on almost everything. He is [a] sound money [man] unbigoted as to those who have been thru a successful business life, an expansionist . . . because he sees the immense value of these islands, sound on the diplomatic service, sees some of its faults & on the whole open to proper argument . . . I think he will do. . . . A couple of years in Washington will make a difference. He's only 36 & is very like a freshman at college. Unfortunately he must give the foreigners he meets a queer notion of the best & greatest body in the world." Despite these patronizing remarks, John sought out the Beveridges in Hong Kong, Manila, and later in Washington when in pursuit of a State Department appointment.[20]



Expense Items.

In Japan:

Clothes	57
Hat	13
Komondobbi	80
Canes	65
Lacquer	2,730
Cloisonné	25
Kakemono	2
Misc.	5
General Art	261.20
Yen:	4,233.20

John Work Garrett's expense account included Japanese art, lacquers, and clothing but did not note the stork tattoo on his right leg.

During the commission's nine days in Japan the doctors met with their Japanese counterparts to learn about the significant medical research being done there. There was still ample time for sightseeing in Tokyo, Nagoya, and Kyoto; frequent visits to geisha houses and, especially, opportunities for John to buy objets d'art. Both John and Fred Gay, on the strength of their earlier visits, con-

sidered themselves old Japan hands and delighted in initiating the other three in la vie Japonaise. Gay introduced them to "his sweet friend Kichiroku" as well as to a young naval officer, Captain Masayuki Kataoka, who claimed to be an Annapolis graduate. Kataoka, who described himself as a former expert of the British Museum, advised John on his first purchases of lacquer from shops in Kyoto. "He has opened my eyes to beautiful things I had never dreamed of. Saw a lacquerer at work & was fascinated by his minute expertness and diligence." They were taken to a geisha training school where, after the tea ceremony and the dancing, John had a stork tattooed on his right leg: "Didn't hurt a bit but isn't the best of its kind." Over the next six months, Kataoka and John corresponded, the captain importuning John to buy collections of netsuke, inro, masks, and lacquers. He even made a futile trip to Manila; John had already departed for Java. Although Kataoka had planned to visit Baltimore in the spring of 1900, the Boxer Rebellion intervened. His last letter, posted on December 27, 1900, from Peking, where he expected to spend the winter on duty, urged John to come to Peking—there were wonderful jades and blue-and-white porcelain to be had "very cheap." He requested that John not return the consignment of curios he had already shipped to Baltimore, but hold them until he could come to the States. Sadly he never came and all efforts to trace the captain-connoisseur were unavailing. It is probable that he was a casualty of the Boxer uprising.[21]

John, as befitted a diplomat-in-training, was an acute observer on his travels. He noted the superb Japanese fortifications outside Nagasaki and the Russian cruisers in the harbor; at Hong Kong, the wrecked Spanish warships Dewey had captured; in Canton, the examination cells where prospective civil service candidates were "put to turn out papers on a variety of useless subjects." John commented that "the power of a people able to do this sort of thing when it shall be turned into the right channels will be immense."

Manila and Guerrilla War

At last, Manila: "Our sensations are very interesting on coming into an American home-port on this side of the world. What our entry into the East may amount to after a while no one can figure out, even whether we are to stay permanently. . . . I believe we are and hope to have my belief in the reasonableness of permanent occupation satisfied with good reasons during these next three months." It would be only two months for John, whose restlessness drove him on to the Dutch East Indies and Ceylon in July.

Despite cautioning himself not to jump to premature conclusions, he arrived and departed in favor of American occupation of the Philippines for the foreseeable future. The doctors took up their work in the prison camps and hospitals in and around Manila. Flexner and Barker were given "medical commissions as lieutenants," and with their housing allowance, John found and

Photograph taken in 1899 in the Philippines by John Work Garrett on his trip with the Johns Hopkins Medical Commission.

furnished for the group a "bully little house surrounded by a tropical garden, no windows, plenty of rooms, fine shower bath etc." For himself he bought a horse and rig to drive on the Luneta, Manila's riverside promenade where bands played every evening. The staff comprised six houseboys brought from Hong Kong, one of whom was a fine cook. All five men were invited to join the Manila, Army & Navy, and English Clubs but John, with no responsibilities or duties, official or otherwise, and too much time on his hands, made the most use of them.

He recorded at some length his impressions of the guerrilla war (which would drag on for two more years), of the insurrectionists, the trench warfare, and the poorly disciplined and outfitted American troops. In his first venture to the front he met an infantry captain who totally confounded him: "Randolph queerly enough believes the Filipinos entirely capable of self-government and deplores our fight against them. But perhaps he is not feeling very fit. Stopping [here] awhile is quite enough to put a man out of sorts." His own attitude toward the Filipinos swung between compassion and contempt. After passing through "deserted and burned villages—a dreary reminder of a useless war," he remarked that "the Filipinos hurt no one but themselves by destroying their own houses & means of living & it is a pity they do not . . . see their own foolishness." The dynamics of guerrilla warfare seem to have escaped him.

He described an ambulance ride that he took from the war zone:

> The fellows in the ambulance this morning were not a very sick lot . . . twas chiefly heat prostration that got them. . . . Two perfectly healthy men stood on the dashboard & fired rifles at dogs, pigs, etc. with uncommon frequency and uniform inaccuracy. The poor people in the village thru which we passed were scared to death & held up white flags when they heard us coming. Twas a foolish and wrong thing for these overgrown boys to do. There is too great laxity in matters of this sort.

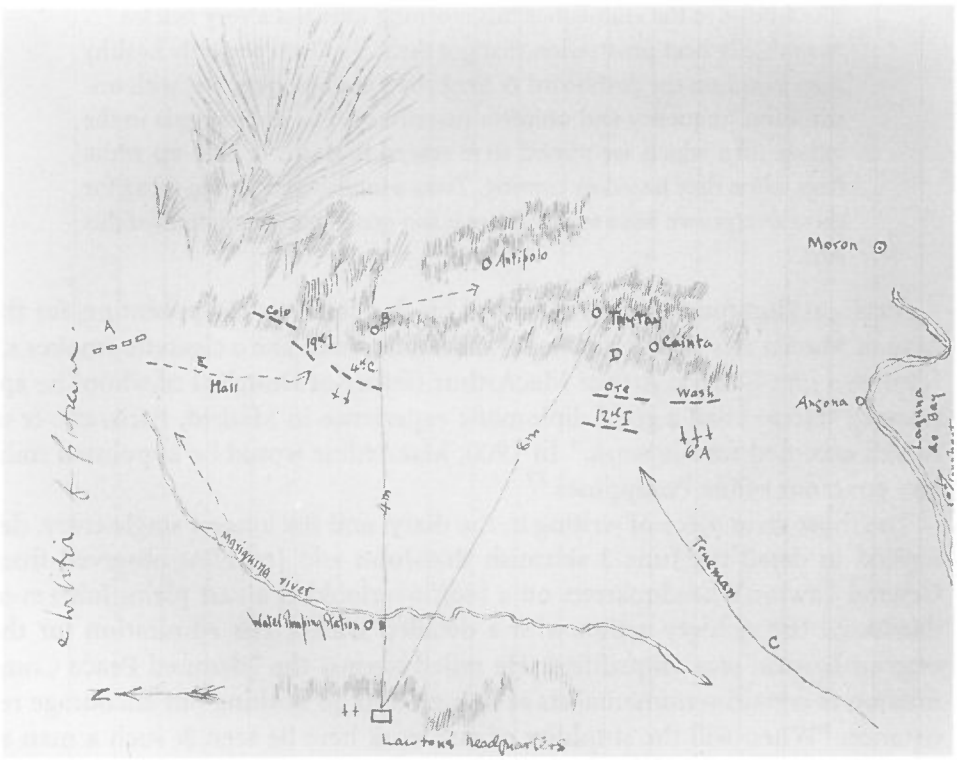
A call on Commodore Dewey aboard his flag ship was disappointing, for the hero of Manila was clearly not well: "His hands shake like a cigarette smoker's." John also met General Arthur MacArthur (father of Douglas) of whom he approved: "He has had a good diplomatic experience in Madrid, Paris, etc. & so is well qualified for his work." In 1900, MacArthur would be appointed military governor of the Philippines.[22]

The most vivid piece of writing in the diary, and the longest single entry, described in detail the June 3 skirmish that John and Joe Flint observed from General Lawton's headquarters on a bluff overlooking a vast plain. John even illustrated the military action with a detailed sketch. His admiration for the veteran Lawton was unqualified. He railed against the "damned Peace Commission & certain sentimentalists at home" who do nothing but encourage resistance. "When will the stupidity of our work here be seen & such a man as Lawton put at the head & given every power to push thru. He could finish it up. No kindheartedness or philanthropy will end the insurrection, only hard work and slaughter. Lawton is ready for it." Lawton would be killed in action before the year ended.[23]

The rains came, the heat was unpleasant, and John grew eager to leave. He had met and talked long hours with military and naval personnel, with British businessmen, American war correspondents, members of the Peace Commission and other officials. He had had first-hand experience of war, albeit from the sidelines. Now it was time to move on.

The Return

The first day of July found him bound for Java via Singapore with a few valedictory words for Manila as he steamed out of the harbor: "It is a great city of the future. I should like to write a few things about the Philippines here, but don't feel up to it—laziness!" Indeed, the diary entries for the second half of 1899 are disappointingly sketchy, especially after his departure from the Dutch East Indies. Upon arriving in Paris in September, he chided himself. "I don't think I have ever been quite so far behind with my diary as I am at this very moment & helplessly unwilling to bring myself to the point of writing it up. Except for a few miserable scrappy notes, I have written nothing since Djakarta, nearly two months ago." This doesn't quite do justice to his evocative accounts



Garrett's eyewitness sketch of a military action against Philippine insurrectionists.

of Singapore's wildly polyglot population, of "crossing the earth's old waistband" bound for Sumatra, the teeming ports of Java or his jaunts up country to visit the botanical gardens and the fabled ruins of Borubudur. He had uncomplimentary words for the ubiquitous rijstafel. When his money was stolen, he was rescued by the wealthiest man in Java, a coffee and tobacco planter. On hand for the Malaysian New Year, he witnessed His Majesty of Sulu review his troops and the next day attended the prime minister's exotic funeral rites. After a week in Ceylon, from whence he sent home two boxes of souvenirs, including bolos and krisses for Rob, he rendezvoused with Flint and Barker in Madras, India. The doctors promptly dashed off to Poona to study an outbreak of plague, returning with harrowing tales.

John sailed through Suez to Marseilles, then by rail to Paris where he had expected to meet his mother and Rob. Though they had not seen son and brother for six months, they did not meet him in Paris; his long absence seems not to have strengthened family ties. In any event, John joined them in London where Rob's archaeology party had assembled to get fitted out for an expedition to Syria. Was it self-mockery or self-delusion when he wrote: "I wish I weren't a hard-working man & could go along too!"[24]

He and Rob "talked over business affairs with some thoroughness." His fervent wish that estate matters finally be settled, he told himself, was "not altogether a lazy one either, tho the unloading of business responsibility appeals to me, I admit. I can't quite convince myself that my aversion to business is not chiefly founded on the line of least resistance rather than the hope of achieving distinction in quite another sphere."

He made some astute observations on future world power alignments:

> Poor France. How weak these Latins are in the end of the century, their virility & power all gone. They are childish in their old ages, but no longer have the power for world-wide mischief. . . . In Europe they still speak of the six powers. But there are but three. . . . There will be perhaps five in the next century: America, Great Britain, Germany, Russia and who knows? . . . And all of the rest of the world will live on sufferance!

World affairs were not the only matters on his mind. John, like his great-grandfather and Uncle Robert, was a bit of a dandy. He replenished his wardrobe, documenting each item whether bought in the Far East, Paris or London. In Asia his purchases included: "12 pajamas, 12 white ducks, 3 khaki, 12 wash ties, 2 flannel suits, 7 jackets (4 white), frock suit, kimono & 6 sarongs, panama hat and pith helmet." In Paris he ordered a dozen shirts from the well-known Charvet firm, two cravats, two pairs of braces and a dressing gown. From Doucet, two dozen handkerchiefs and twenty-four pairs of gloves. Then in London he added two suits from Davies, six vests and an overcoat as well as two hats, six shirts and five more pairs of gloves. All these expenditures came to a little over $400.

But fine clothes couldn't ward off the return of old aches and pains—in head, stomach, and leg. Doubtless it was in part because of his malaise that he complained to his diary, with barely concealed annoyance, that "Dear Mother has been worrying about our inactivity and insists that we should go to Nuremberg, Geneva, Heidelberg & God knows where all in a week. She isn't fit for traveling or any other thing & Mrs. H. (her companion) isn't either." The final entry in the 1899 diary was written in Bruges on September 30. Sailing from Liverpool, the Garretts were back in Baltimore on October 6. The last three months of 1899 were not recorded by John.

For much of the following year, he continued to mark time. He celebrated the Class of '95's fifth reunion in Princeton and attended the opera and book auctions in New York. He bought his first automobile and promptly smashed it—he seems to have been an accident-prone driver. West Virginia's Senator Stephen B. Elkins invited him to dinner to meet the president's nieces.[25] In June 1900 he saw the Republican ticket, McKinley-Roosevelt, nominated in Philadelphia. From July to October he was abroad again, traveling in Scandi-

navia with Fred Gay and going on to Paris for the World Exposition.

A letter from his mother, who had been touring Scotland with her daughter-in-law, caught up with him somewhere in Norway. After a bitter opening, castigating him for not writing and for his unwillingness to travel with her, she continued:

> Your life lately has been so empty, so wasted. . . . I am very unhappy about it as are all who love you and have your interests at heart. . . . [You] will not see how you are throwing your exceptional life away. By this time I looked for some outcome beyond the common, for who has had such advantages as you & who a brighter mind. Your father expected great things of you. You were thought by your Uncle R. the brightest of the Garretts—yet you have done nothing, are indulging yourself to such an extent that each day you are making the future more difficult. Not only are you laying up misery for yourself but increasing my unhappiness. . . . I fear it is my fault. I have done wrong somehow though I did try so hard to bring you up to be something in the world and not a nonentity merely.

A difficult letter to write and even harder to receive, one can imagine, for a man who had done so much soul-searching of his own.[26]

At year's end he heard from Benjamin Wheeler, a prominent classical scholar who in 1899 had been appointed president of the University of California at Berkeley. He promised John "very valuable letters" in support of his pursuit of a diplomatic post. Wheeler is first mentioned in the diary in February when he visited Evergreen; subsequently John met with him twice in Philadelphia.[27] Where they became acquainted or exactly what sort of influence Wheeler wielded in government circles is uncertain, but in the early weeks of 1901 the bureaucratic wheels began to turn faster. John shuttled between Baltimore and Washington—for dinner with Mrs. George Hearst, to lunch with the head of the Civil Service Commission, and to attend the Inaugural Ball in March. Senators Elkins of West Virginia and Louis McComas of Maryland were working on his behalf, and he was again in touch with Indiana's Beveridge. After several disheartening delays, John Cowen, now head of the B&O, made good on a promise to get John an audience with the president. In his meeting with McKinley on April 20, John was assured the vacant post at The Hague, if Secretary of State John Hay had no objections.[28] He had none. The official letter came on April 27. John Work Garrett had his long-sought appointment, as secretary at The Hague, the beginning of service in the U.S. diplomatic corps that would occupy him in worthy public service, on and off, for the next three decades of his life.

Alice Whitridge Garrett encouraged her son's travels but ultimately chastised him for his indulgence.

NOTES

This article was developed from a paper presented by the author at an Evergreen Salon in Baltimore on September 7, 1995.

1. All quotations, unless otherwise noted, are from the unpublished diaries and correspondence of John Work Garrett, Garrett Family Archives, Evergreen House, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

2. James Laver, *The Concise History of Costume and Fashion* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 213.

3. Admiral George Dewey (1837–1917), U.S. Navy officer responsible for the total defeat of the Spanish navy in Manila Bay in 1898 with no loss of American lives.

4. Robert Garrett (1783–1857) born County Down, Ireland, and his sons: Henry Stouffer Garrett (1818–1867) and John Work Garrett (1820–1883) married to Rachel Harrison (1823–1883), daughter of Thomas Harrison, in 1846.

5. Harold Williams, *Robert Garrett & Sons Incorporated: Origin and Development* (Baltimore: privately published, 1969), 39–52. This business history has been invaluable in writing this article. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Williams.

6. Robert Garrett (1847–1896) married Mary Sloan Frick, daughter of John Frick in 1872; T. Harrison Garrett (1849–1888) married Alice Whitridge, daughter of Horatio Whitridge in 1870. Their three sons were John Work (1872–1942), Horatio Whitridge (1873–1896) and Robert (1875–1961).

7. Williams, *Robert Garrett & Sons,* 13. Reference to Robert's sartorial splendor can be found in newspaper clippings in family scrapbooks, Garrett Archives, Evergreen House, The Johns Hopkins University.

8. Mary Frick Garrett Jacobs (1851–1936), the Aunt Mary of the diaries and widow of John's Uncle Robert. Mary Elizabeth Garrett (1854–1915), daughter of the first John Work and the Aunt Mamie of the diaries. For a complete account of her close relationship with M. Carey Thomas (1857–1935), first president of Bryn Mawr College, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Power and the Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994).

9. Williams, *Robert Garrett & Sons,* 75.

10. Ibid., 74.

11. Jane was John's nickname for his brother Ray's widow, Charlotte Pierson Garrett Bellairs.

12. Joseph M. Flint (1872–1944), a Princeton classmate, had a distinguished career at Yale and in the Medical Corps during World War I.

13. John paid an ornithologist to travel to Patagonia to collect bird skins and then underwrote his salary at Princeton.

14. Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), twenty-eighth U.S. President and Princeton professor from 1890 to 1902, when he became president of the college. John was enrolled in his course in political economy and jurisprudence.

15. John Work Garrett's contributions are recorded in check books and ledgers, Garrett Archives, Evergreen House.

16. Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1914), U.S. Navy officer and historian whose lectures to the Naval War College were published in an influential series of books beginning in 1890 with *The Influence of Sea Power upon History: 1660–1783.*
17. At the first modern Olympic Games held in Athens in 1896, Robert won two gold medals, in the discus throw and the shot put.
18. John K. Cowen (1844–1904), general counsel and, after 1896, president of the B&O Railroad, served a term in Congress in 1894–1896. From the 1860s, the Garretts had influential friends in Washington, both in Congress and the administrations of presidents from Lincoln to Hoover.
19. Simon Flexner (1863–1946), microbiologist and medical administrator, first head of the Rockefeller Institute of Medicine and prominent in medical education and public health; Lewellys S. Barker (1867–1943), pathologist who succeeded Sir William Osler as chief of medicine at The Johns Hopkins Medical Institute. Alan M. Chesney Medical Archives of The Johns Hopkins Medical Institute; Frederick P. Gay (1874–1939), pathologist and author who taught at the University of California and Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons.
20. Albert J. Beveridge (1862–1927), U.S. Senator from Indiana and biographer of Lincoln, a progressive Republican who supported child labor laws, low tariffs, and American expansionism. He was in fact twenty-six at the time.
21. Both John's and subsequent efforts to trace Kataoka are recorded in Neil K. Davey and Susan G. Tripp, *The Garrett Collection: Japanese Art, Lacquer, Inro, Netsuke* (London: Dauphin, 1992), 20–27.
22. General Arthur MacArthur (1845–1912), U.S. Army officer, veteran of the Civil War and Indian Wars, who served as military governor of the Philippines.
23. General Henry C. Lawton (1843–1899), U.S. Army officer, Civil War and Indian Wars veteran, in command of the First Division, U.S. Army, in the Philippines.
24. The first of several archaeological expeditions to Syria in which Robert Garrett took part. He returned to the Middle East on subsequent expeditions and compiled for publication *Topography and Itinerary* (New York: The Century Company, 1914).
25. Stephen B. Elkins (1841–1911), U.S. Senator from West Virginia from 1895 to 1911, was active in railroading and coal mining. His second wife, Hallie Davis of Baltimore, may have been a Garrett acquaintance.
26. Note that several of the sentences in his mother's letter almost paraphrase passages from John's diaries quoted on page 8.
27. Benjamin I. Wheeler (1854–1927), classical scholar and university president, took an active interest in politics.
28. Phoebe Apperson Hearst (1842–1919), widow of Senator George Hearst of California and mother of William Randolph Hearst, was living in Washington; Louis E. McComas (1846–1907), U.S. Senator from Maryland from 1889 to 1905; John M. Hay (1838–1905), diplomat and writer, was secretary of state in both the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations, from 1898 to 1905.

Consolidation Coal Company power station and pumping shaft, Mines No. 3 and 11. (All photographs courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of American History.)

When Coal Was King: The Consolidation Coal Company's Maryland Division Photographs

GEOFFREY L. BUCKLEY and BETSY BURSTEIN

Maryland Historical Magazine *offers its readers selections from a large and remarkable collection of historical photographs, published here for the first time with the permission of the Smithsonian Institution and introduced by the following essay. The photographers are unknown. The photographs are undated but are judged by the Smithsonian's curators to be from the period 1914–1920. The scenes in this sample are from the western Maryland valley anchored by Frostburg and Westernport.*

In October 1845 an article appeared in *The National Magazine and Industrial Record* entitled "The Coal Field of Allegany County, Maryland." In addition to providing a brief history of exploration for this portion of the state, as well as a review of its geology, the article described the quality of the coal found in the field's most important section, the George's Creek valley, a basin twenty-five miles long and five miles wide, bounded by Big Savage Mountain to the west and Dan's Mountain to the east.

> The composition, characteristics, and qualities of the coals from these measures have been tested by chemists and analysts, by metallurgists, with locomotive engines, and on those world-wonders—the Atlantic steamers; and the verdict is, we believe, unanimous, that they resemble almost to identity, the best kinds of the best Welsh coals.[1]

As if this were not a strong enough endorsement of the region's mineral wealth, the authors concluded that "no other locality in the United States holds out a fairer prospect of a remuneration, for time or capital, than this coal field of Allegany county, Maryland."[2]

Just four years earlier, in 1841, the *Baltimore Sun* called the same Maryland coal region one of the "unproductive" regions of the state.[3] The *Sun* noted,

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however, that there were twelve incorporated companies with a chartered capital of 6.7 million dollars in the George's Creek valley waiting to convert "minerals into merchandise" once the railroad reached Cumberland. Indeed, the arrival of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad at Cumberland in 1842, followed by the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal in 1850, permitted coal and lumber companies to conduct their operations on a scale far greater than previously had been possible. Donna M. Ware suggests that the construction of the railroad, in particular, was the key ingredient necessary for the expanded settlement of western Maryland and its incorporation into the wider national economy:

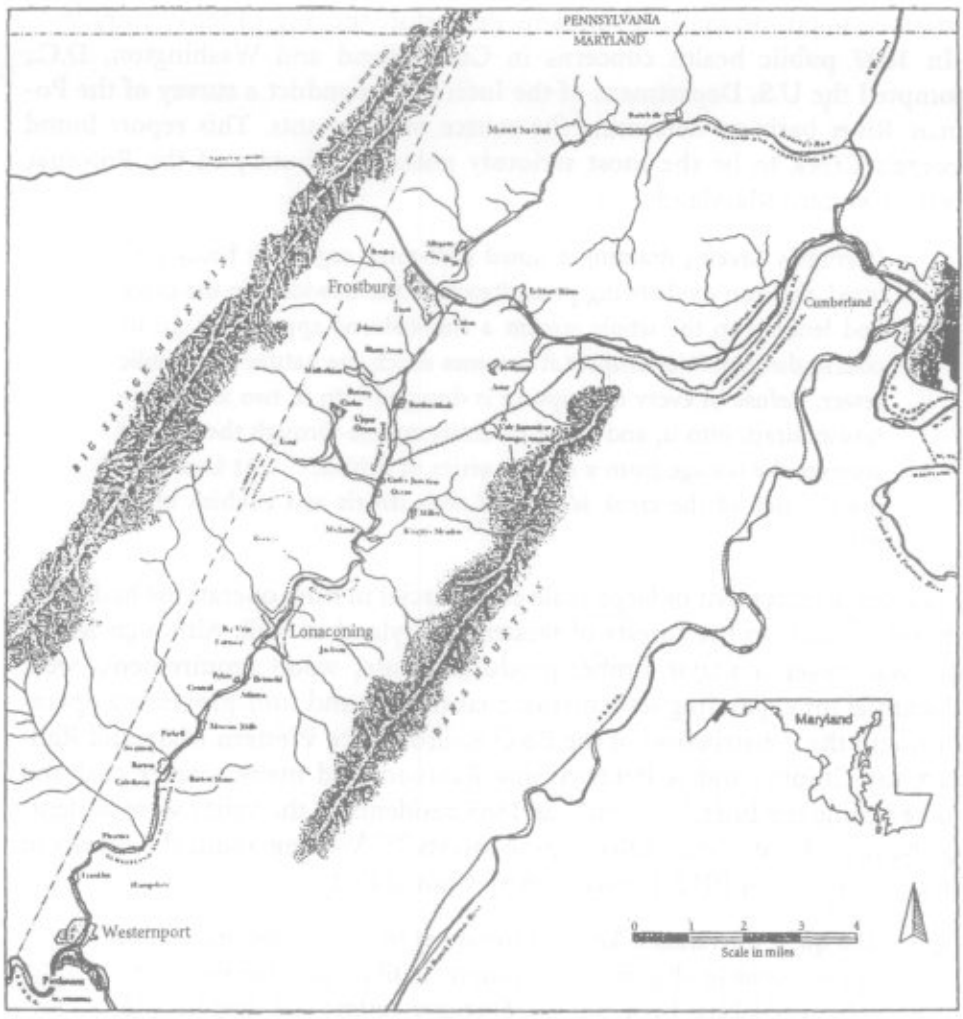
> Railroads played a vital role in the development of the natural resources of western Allegany and Garrett Counties. The region's rich deposits of coal, iron, and clay, as well as its natural beauty, remained commercially inaccessible until a transportation network was established.[4]

After the introduction of the railroad and the canal, this valley was transformed from an "almost virgin territory," according to historian J. Thomas Scharf, to "one continuous street and town, twenty-four miles in length, inhabited by miners and their families" as mining and logging activities expanded and intensified.[5] An area that had once been covered with "heavy virgin timber" was, over the course of a few decades, converted to a land of stumps and badly polluted waters.[6]

While coal and, to a lesser extent, iron ore were the major commercial resources in the area, western Maryland's timberlands were also of vital importance. By the time the railroad reached Cumberland, the potential value of these timberlands had become obvious. Describing in 1842 an 8,373-acre tract in the vicinity of Big Savage Mountain owned by the heirs of Baltimore merchant Robert Oliver, a surveyor wrote: "It contains a great quantity of valuable timber, particularly white pine and white oak, which must soon become very important by the active operation in the adjacent mining districts."[7]

In 1837, the president and vice-president of the George's Creek Coal and Iron Company, referring to the forest resources of their property located in the vicinity of present-day Lonaconing, observed that "the thousands of acres which have never seen the sun for the dense forests which cover them would furnish for years an unexhausted supply of timber for many purposes."[8] Frederick Besley, Maryland's first state forester, speculated that "heavy virgin forests" covered 95 percent or more of Allegany County before the arrival of Euro-Americans.[9] Of western Maryland's forests in general, Cleveland Abbe, Jr., of the Maryland Weather Service, states: "The early settlers found the mountains clothed with dense forests of pine and hard wood."[10]

After the arrival of the B&O and the C&O, coal companies, which had been acquiring and consolidating property rights for years, commenced mining and



Map of the George's Creek valley of Maryland from Katherine A. Harvey, The Best-Dressed Miners: Life and Labor in the Maryland Coal Region, 1835–1910 [*© 1969 Cornell University Press*]. *Reprinted with the permission of the publisher.*

logging operations on a large scale. The physical environment of the George's Creek valley would never be the same. Mining, logging, and other activities associated with industrialization adversely affected the water quality of the Potomac River and its tributary George's Creek and led to massive deforestation of the region.

According to a well-established history of Allegany County, "fishing in George's Creek became a casualty of acid iron waste from the mines, which by 1907, if not sooner, had destroyed all forms of life in the stream by the time it reached Westernport."[11] In addition to acid mine drainage, wastes from slaughterhouses, tanneries, distilleries, paper mills, stables, and sewer systems

combined to poison the area's streams well before the turn of the century.[12]

In 1897 public health concerns in Cumberland and Washington, D.C., prompted the U.S. Department of the Interior to conduct a survey of the Potomac River basin to determine the source of pollutants. This report found George's Creek to be the most seriously polluted tributary of the Potomac River in western Maryland:

> [George's Creek], draining a noted coal-mine region, is badly polluted, the iron oxide being precipitated on the bowlders in the creek and lending to the whole stream a rust-colored appearance. In its course through Westernport it assumes much the nature of a public sewer. Refuse of every description is dumped into it; two slaughterhouses drain into it, and along its entire course through the town it receives the sewage from a double series of privies. . . . At Lonaconing the bed of the creek is strewed with débris and rubbish of all sorts.[13]

The commencement of large-scale commercial mining operations had a significant impact on the forests of western Maryland as well. Although Maryland was never a major timber-producing state, wood requirements were substantial for expanding settlements, coal-mining and iron-processing operations, and the construction of the B&O Railroad, the Western Maryland Railroad, the Cumberland & Pennsylvania Railroad, and many smaller coal and lumber company lines.[14] As early as 1865 residents in the valley were lamenting the loss of their "magnificent pine forests."[15] Writing about the forests of Allegany County in 1912, Frederick Besley noted that

> The quest for valuable kinds of wood has led to a systematic culling of the forests in all parts of the county, until most of the merchantable material has been cut. . . . Excessive cutting and fires have almost eliminated, in some places, certain species that were of the most value years ago, notably white pine and yellow poplar.[16]

Much of the wood cut in western Maryland went into the production of railroad crossties and mining props. In 1909 alone, 47,000 railroad ties and over a million cubic feet of mining props (average height: eight and one-half feet; minimum diameter at top: three and one-half inches) were cut in Allegany County.[17] Given that an estimated 2,645 crossties were required for every mile of railroad, all of which had to be replaced within six or seven years (this was before the advent of chemical preservatives such as creosote), it was not uncommon for substantial amounts of land to be denuded on either side of the roadbed.[18] Writing in 1906, William Bullock Clark of the Maryland Geological Survey stated:

> What little virgin forest there is in Maryland is located in inaccessible parts of this region. . . . Nearly all the merchantable coniferous trees have already been culled from the forests of this region and the hardwoods are now rapidly being cleaned out under the highly intensive system of lumbering which has lately been inaugurated in the region. Trees of nearly all species down to very small sizes are used for mine props and lagging [barrel staves and wood strips]. The prevailing forest condition is that of cut-over virgin forest, covered with a scattering growth of large, defective trees not suitable for lumber, interspersed with reproduction of hardwood sprouts and seedlings, and occasional patches of coniferous reproduction.[19]

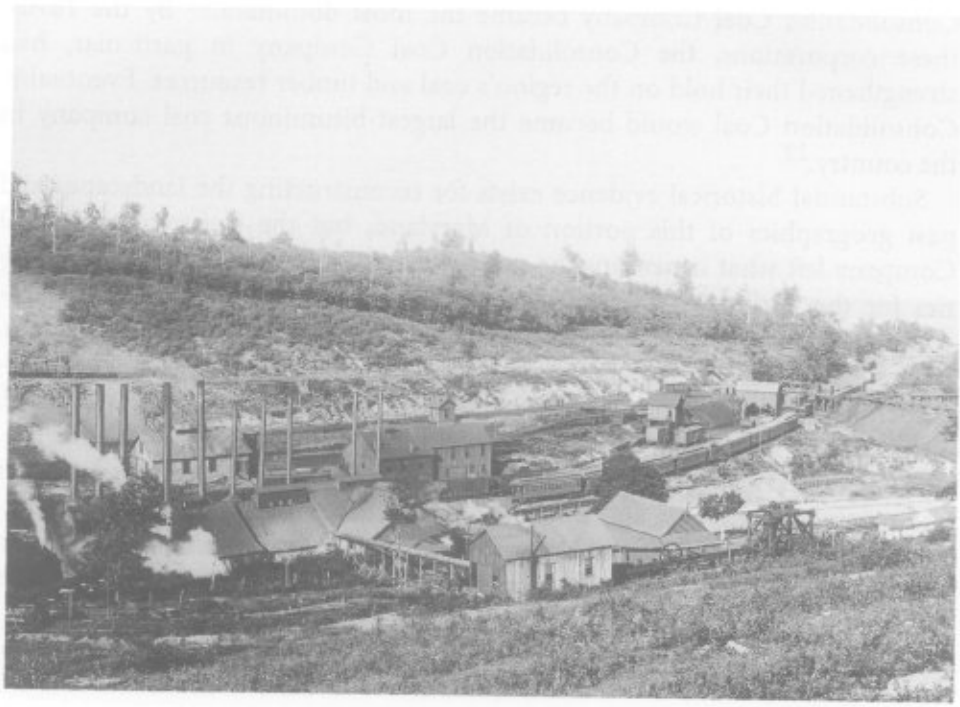
In 1910, 62 percent of Allegany County was described as wooded. Of this wooded area, an estimated 1 percent was considered "virgin" forest—the remainder having been cut once if not several times since the arrival of Euro-American settlers in the area.[20] By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, coal companies had to look beyond the valley for adequate supplies of wood. Clearly, the "thousands of acres" that had "never seen the sun for the dense forests which covered them," at which Alexander and Tyson had marveled in 1837, had been cut over; the "unexhausted supply of timber" had been exhausted.

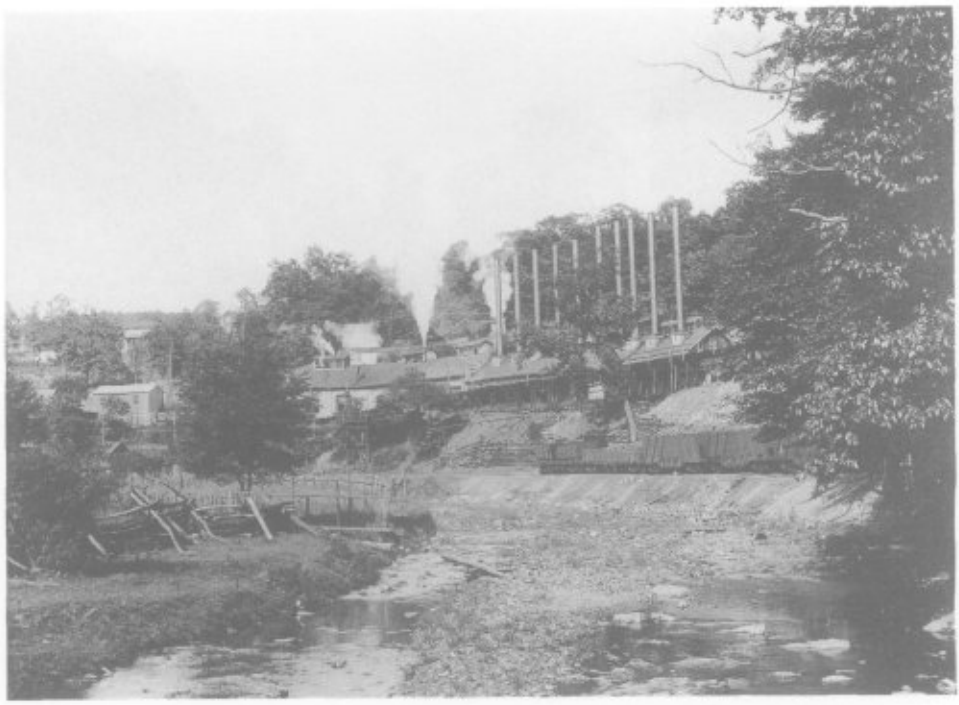
According to historian Katherine Harvey, the development of the coal industry during the post–Civil War era was "characterized by the combination of smaller companies into larger, more powerful conglomerates" of which the Consolidation Coal Company became the most dominant.[21] By the 1870s, these corporations, the Consolidation Coal Company in particular, had strengthened their hold on the region's coal and timber resources. Eventually, Consolidation Coal would become the largest bituminous coal company in the country.[22]

Substantial historical evidence exists for reconstructing the landscapes and past geographies of this portion of Maryland, but the Consolidation Coal Company left what is perhaps the most powerful record of events and activities for the period 1909–1946—a collection of approximately 3,750 photographs depicting everyday life in Consolidation's mines and company towns. Images of miners' homes, gardens, families, schools, churches, recreational facilities, hospitals, and company mines, buildings, and equipment in Maryland, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia provide us with valuable information on subjects ranging from architecture and engineering to transportation and mining technology, and from worker health and safety to social and cultural customs. These images also provide graphic evidence of the extent to which coal mining and logging activities altered the physical environment of the region.

Midland, Maryland

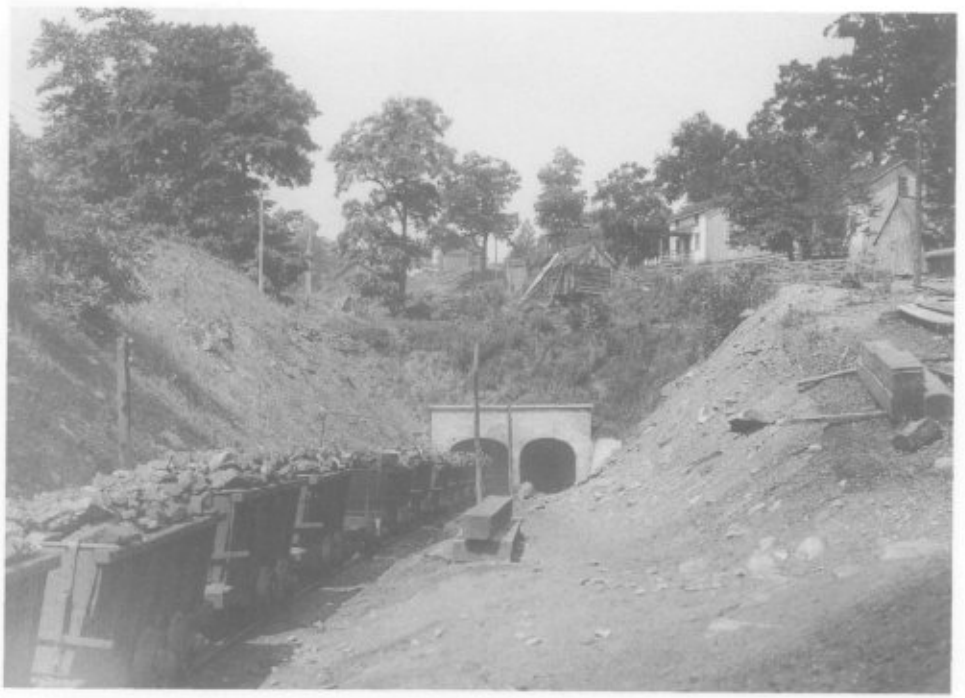
Mine No. 7





Mine No. 1

Mine No. 3

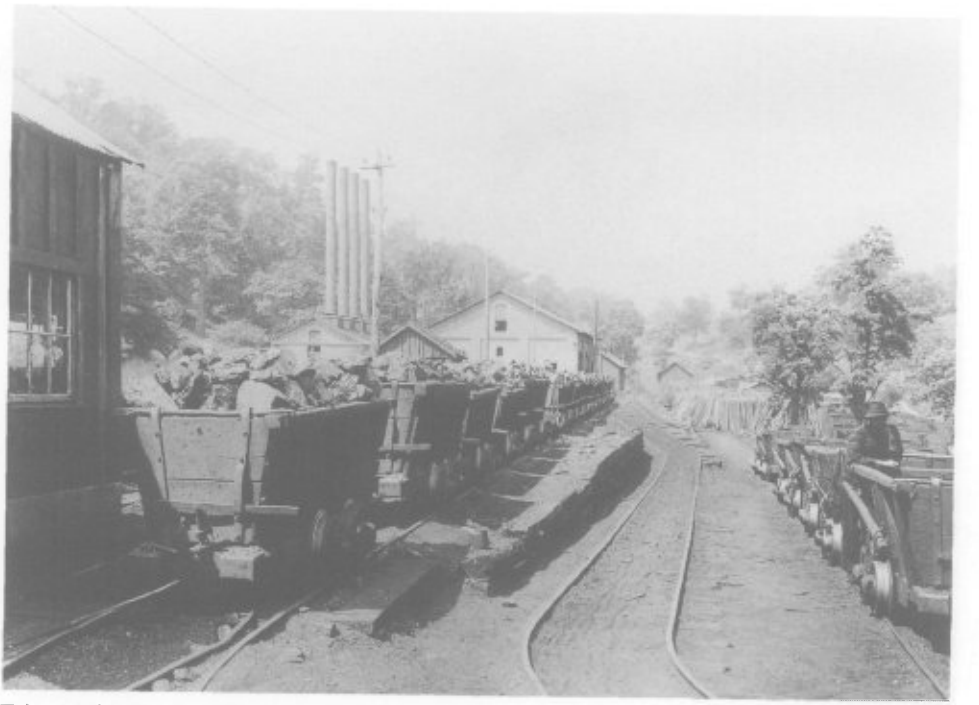


Mine No. 3 trip and opening

Moscow, Maryland

Mine No. 10 showing dumping system

Mine No. 9 trip ready for dumping



Trip at Mine No. 3 weigh shanty

Mine No. 7 from old mine dump

While the photographs tell us a great deal about life, labor, and environmental alteration in the coal towns of the early twentieth century, they also suggest a measure of pride on the part of Consolidation Coal. No doubt the company's management was proud of its position as the largest of its kind in the United States. It also enjoyed a reputation for using the most modern mining technology. In addition, by 1882 Consolidation had earned a reputation as the best employer in Maryland's George's Creek area. According to the Maryland Bureau of Industrial Statistics in 1895:

> In 1894, it was undoubtedly true that any miner in the region would resign his present place were he assured of employment at the mines of this company. The mine superintendent is spoken of as fair, impartial, and considerate of the men's feelings, there is no "pluck me" store, the mines are ventilated in the best method at present known, the men employed there are a carefully selected and especially intelligent class, and in many other ways this company's mines present inducements that appeal with great force to the steady, reliable miner.[23]

Clearly, the company's operators wanted to maintain a record of these accomplishments.

In 1960, Charles O. Houston, Jr., associate curator in the Division of Manufactures and Heavy Industries for the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of History and Technology, contacted the owners of the photograph collection, the Beth-Elkhorn Corporation. Houston was interested in acquiring the collection and including some of the images in the museum's Hall of Coal exhibit. Two years later, Houston and Dr. P. W. Bishop, head curator in the Department of Arts and Manufactures, obtained the collection from Beth-Elkhorn Corporation (Bethlehem Mines Corporation) in Jenkins, Kentucky. Soon after the acquisition, however, the official papers describing the collection were lost. For many years the photographs too were lost in storage at the Museum of History and Technology. The papers and photographs were recovered in 1987 after a reorganization of the agriculture and natural resources storage room. Museum specialists and curators have since catalogued the photographs and considered ways to provide researchers and other parties with improved access to the collection.

Geographer Richard V. Francaviglia recently observed that mining activities produce "some of the most stark and dramatic landscapes on earth."[24] The selection of images from Consolidation's Maryland Division that appear here remind us of this point. They also preserve the memory of a bygone era in western Maryland, when coal was king and the Consolidation Coal Company dominated life and labor in the George's Creek valley.

NOTES

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15. *Cumberland Union and Allegany County Gazette*, September 23, 1865.
16. Besley, *Forests of Allegany County*, 6–7.
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19. William B. Clark, *Report on the Physical Features of Maryland: Together with an Account of the Exhibits of Maryland Mineral Resources Made by the Maryland Geological Survey* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1906), 247–248.
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21. Katherine A. Harvey, *The Best-Dressed Miners: Life and Labor in the Maryland Coal Region* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 165–166.
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A Restless Generation: Migration of Maryland Veterans in the Early Republic

LAWRENCE A. PESKIN

Consider this trajectory of a life: George Uselton was born August 10, 1762, in Kent County, on Maryland's Eastern Shore. At fifteen he became a soldier, fighting the British as a private in a Maryland regiment. In the early 1780s, Uselton joined the flood of Marylanders moving to Kentucky to better their fortunes. He settled not far from Lexington, in Woodford County. There, at the age of twenty-five he married Margaret, then a mere girl of sixteen. In the next few years the couple produced three children before moving southwest to Warren County, near Bowling Green, Kentucky. They lived there nearly a decade before packing up and moving south, this time to Rutherford County, in central Tennessee. They met other Kentuckians whose lives had followed a similar path, including Thomas Garner, a friend from their Warren County days. They stayed put for twenty-three years, and George became a respected member of the community; he acted as a justice of the peace for more than twenty years. Finally, as George entered his seventies and Margaret her sixties, the couple moved on once again, to Franklin County, Tennessee, near Chattanooga. George then applied for a pension as a war veteran and was granted a small annuity by the federal government. Finally, in his seventy-seventh year, fifty-seven years after the Revolution, the old soldier died. Margaret continued to receive his pension, but perhaps an equal legacy went to posterity in the form of the pension file, which provides a valuable window into the life of an ordinary American family.[1]

Thanks to the existence of thousands of applications submitted to the federal government by Revolutionary war soldiers and their widows, historians gain rare glimpses into the lives of an extraordinary generation of Americans. The applications offer detailed information about place of residence, facts which make it clear that these men and women truly were a restless generation.[2] The sample of Maryland veterans used for this study indicates that more than two-thirds moved away from the state of Maryland during the course of their lifetime, mostly to the West, and many moved three or more times.[3] Only a small minority remained in their county of birth for their entire lives.[4]

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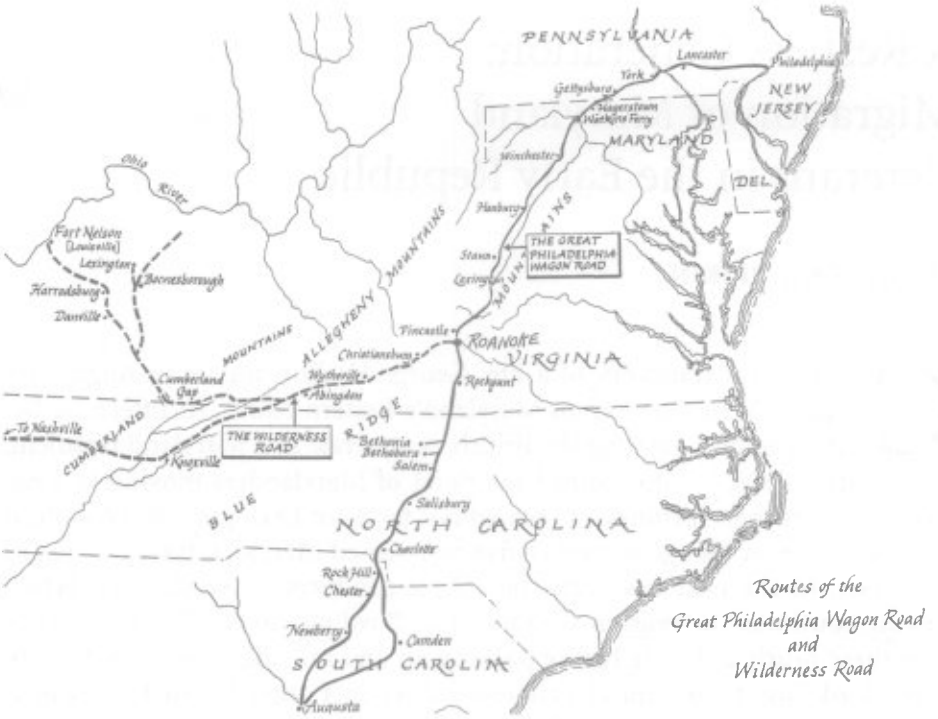


Maryland's Revolutionary War veterans left the Old Line state behind and followed the great roads west in search of a brighter economic future. (Map courtesy of Henry C. Peden, Jr.)

The surprising mobility of the Revolutionary generation followed distinct patterns. The most obvious was geographic. Most headed to the West, in particular to the new territories and states bordering the Ohio River valley. A small minority moved north or south. The second pattern was temporal. Even before the war, as young children, members of this generation frequently moved to a new home with their parents, typically from eastern to western Maryland. Shortly after the war, they moved west to better their economic station. Frequently they ceased moving in middle age and settled down to become semi-permanent "core" members of a community. Many began another series of moves in old age, following younger family members upon whom they increasingly became dependent for care.

Recently, historians have viewed this migration as an essentially destabilizing force that created a transient and disorderly trans-Appalachian society, "a region of strangers" in the phrase used by two distinguished scholars.[5] Yet the patterned migration of Maryland's Revolutionary generation does not appear to have been as destructive or chaotic as these historians suggest. Instead, the movements of this generation lend some support to a modified version of an old chestnut, Frederick Jackson Turner's safety-valve theory. Turner argued that migration was essentially a stabilizing factor, for it took potential trouble-

makers, the poor and discontented, from the East and transformed them into contented landholders in the West.[6] Although it is difficult to gauge the economic successes or failures of the Maryland veterans, in general it does appear that migration was a relatively stabilizing force. What evidence there is suggests most pensioners gained some small level of economic security in the West, and the orderly process of migration itself seems not to have been as destabilizing as one might expect. In this sense the safety valve worked, for even if they did not get rich, the Revolutionary generation were able to gain a foothold in the newly formed towns beyond the Alleghenies and live significant periods of their lives as stable members of these new communities.[7]

Emigration and Immigration

The migratory experience began early in childhood for many in the Revolutionary generation. Of those veterans whose pension applications indicated the date of their first migration, slightly less than half had moved before the war, usually along with their parents.[8] The largest number of these prewar migrants moved from birthplaces in Maryland to other parts of the state; others were born in nearby states and moved into Maryland. All of these pensioners were part of a cross-generational migrational pattern with its origins stretching back across the Atlantic Ocean.

Of those men born in Maryland who migrated before the war, the usual path was from the old southern and Eastern Shore counties to the newer western areas.[9] The John Smith pension application presents a good example of this migration pattern.[10] Born in 1760 in Prince George's County, in the southern section of the state, Smith moved west with his family at age five to Frederick County. There he enlisted in the army, and he returned there after the fighting. Two years after his discharge, Smith took a bride and moved on to Washington County immediately to the west of Frederick. He lived there two years before again moving one county to the west in 1785, to Allegany County. Eleven years later he continued to the west, finally crossing the Maryland state line into what is now Harrison County, West Virginia. Like Smith, many other migrants lived in Maryland's western counties before heading further afield.[11] As a newly-settled section of the state, the western counties were themselves part of the mid-eighteenth-century frontier. These counties were in some ways more similar to the newer trans-Appalachian territories than to the older, long-settled portions of tidewater Maryland. They were closely linked to the frontier areas to the west, and they felt a shared vulnerability to Indian raids.[12] Parts of western Maryland also shared the rude living conditions that characterized the frontier during this period, and, as in other frontier areas, speculators were busy buying and reselling large tracts of land.[13]

The prewar migrants who moved to Maryland from other states came almost exclusively from nearby Pennsylvania and Virginia. For these men, a stay

Destination of Maryland Pensioners

Destination	Number	Percent
Stayed in Maryland	58	31%
Delaware	1	
District of Columbia	6	
Pennsylvania	15	
Virginia	7	
West Virginia	8	
Adjacent States Total	37	20%
Illinois	2	
Indiana	7	
Kentucky	26	
Missouri	3	
Ohio	21	
Tennessee	12	
Western States Total	71	38%
Alabama	2	
Georgia	4	
North Carolina	7	
South Carolina	2	
Southern States Total	15	8%
Connecticut	1	
Massachusetts	1	
New Jersey	2	
New York	3	
Northeast States Total	7	4%

Note: N=188. Percentages do not add to 100 due to rounding.

in Maryland was merely a short stop on a journey that ultimately led farther south or west. John Gebhart, for example, lived in Maryland for only twelve years, having moved there at the age of eight with his family. He left for western Virginia shortly after his discharge from the army, and like many others, he moved west by stages, finally settling in southwestern Ohio at the end of his life.[14] Although all the migrants in this group presumably were descended from Europeans, only six reported that they had been born in Europe. Of these six, all migrated to America as children before the war. Four came from Ireland, one from England, and one from Germany.[15]

So began the early migration of a generation in motion, many of whom came to maturity in areas populated by men and women who had only recently moved from someplace else and whose roots in Maryland were often shallow.[16] Not surprisingly, large numbers of this generation moved on to still newer sections of the western frontier. As young people moving to the west,

they were part of a transient sub-population that contrasted with what historians have described as the "core" families that tended to stay long periods of time within a single locality.[17]

Whither and Why

After the war most Maryland veterans left home, and most of these left the state altogether.[18] The largest number of migrants streamed out of the state in the 1780s and the 1790s. Only about one in ten of the migrants who reported their moves left the state after 1800. Most veterans in this sample moved from one to five times over the course of their lifetimes, with some moving as many as five to eight times.[19]

Once they left home, the pensioners tended to follow one of four paths. More than a third (38 percent) moved to the western states and the territories of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri. Most of these reached the west by moving in small stages either through present-day West Virginia into Kentucky or through Pennsylvania to Ohio. A second, much smaller, migratory stream headed to the new southwestern areas of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Only about 8 percent of the pensioners were in this group. A third group of pensioners was less adventurous, migrating only to states immediately adjacent to Maryland—Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Delaware. This group accounted for another 20 percent of the pensioners. Some members of this group, particularly those who relocated in western Pennsylvania, migrated to areas closely linked to the western frontier, while others lived in long-settled areas such as southeastern Pennsylvania and eastern Virginia. The smallest group of pensioners, only 4 percent, moved northeast to long-settled New England and New York.

Due to this outflow of Marylanders, the state's rate of population growth plummeted, and many sections actually lost population during the early national period. From 1730 to 1790 the state's estimated rate of total population growth ranged from 16 percent to 30 percent. But in the decade between 1790 and 1800 it dropped precipitously to 6.8 percent.[20] In that decade nine of the state's nineteen counties actually lost population. Eastern Shore counties especially suffered from this population loss, but Montgomery County, in the western section of the state, also suffered a net loss. Further, when only white population is considered, thirteen of the state's nineteen counties experienced population losses during this decade.[21] The pensioners were part of a tide of white out-migration that affected every region of the state in the years after the Revolution.

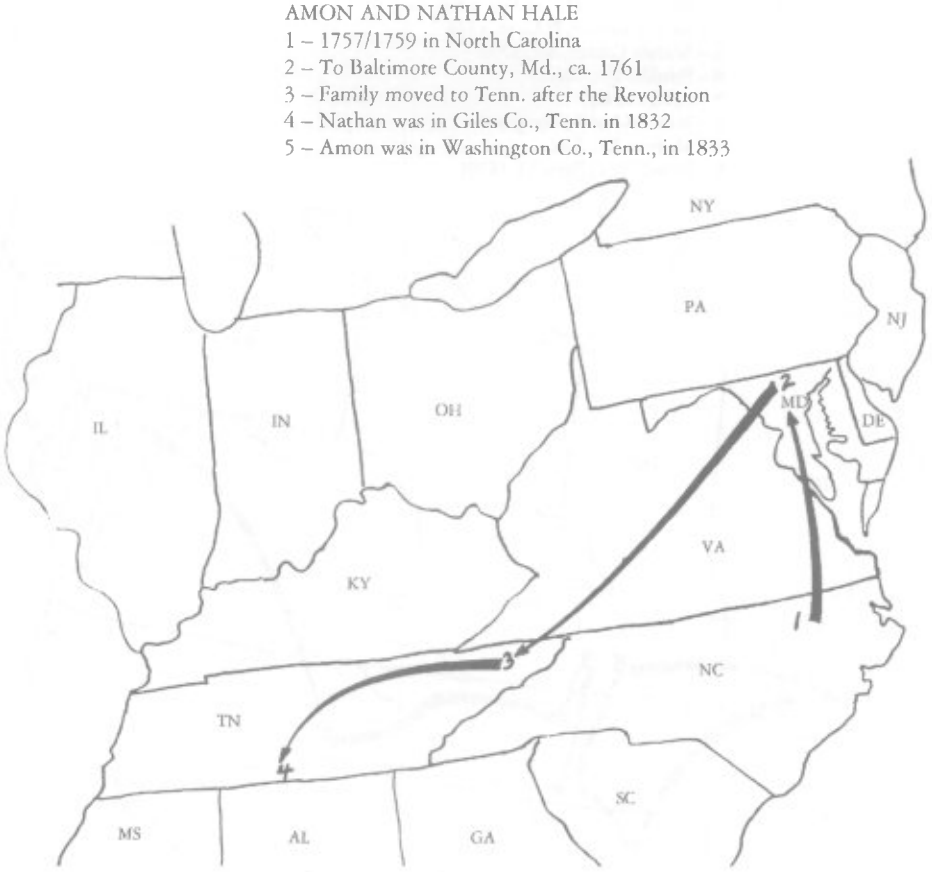
Recently, historians' explanations for mobility have been divided between economic motivation (the search for individual wealth) and the desire to provide one's family with a measure of security and an adequate inheritance (the preservation of the lineal family).[22] The evidence from the Maryland pensioners

strongly suggests that *both* individual economic and family motivations influenced these migrants, with the respective importance of the two shifting over the lifetime of the individual migrant. Family considerations were especially influential later in the pensioners' lives. The search for wealth was a more influential motivation in their earlier moves.

Early in their adult lives most of the migrants followed a pattern of frequent moves, probably in search of a good farm on which to settle.[23] Half of those who reported a date of marriage wed before leaving Maryland.[24] Robert Stewart, for example, reported that "after the war he married and moved to Loudon County, Virginia." William T. Bullock was married in 1788, the same year he left home for Berkeley County in what is now West Virginia, and by the time Peter Shears left Maryland he was married with at least two children.[25] Others did not marry until long after they left Maryland.[26] The fact that these migrants left home as single men indicates that for many, preserving their lineal family, or providing for their children, could not have been a primary concern, at least not at this early stage. This is not to say, however, that they were left entirely on their own. With limited availability of land, families may have consciously decided to send some unmarried children away in order to conserve land for the rest of the family. Additionally, some single men were not alone as they headed west. There is evidence of brothers who migrated together, and in some cases several natives of the same Maryland communities lived near each other in the western areas, indicating that they may have made the journey together.[27]

After this restless period early in their lives, most veterans settled down in a single place. The two most frequent movers in the sample both conformed to this pattern. Stewart Sterrit, who, with eight reported moves, was the most mobile of all the pensioners, was born in 1762 in Londonderry, Ireland. He moved to Frederick County with his parents before the war. After receiving his discharge, he moved to Winchester, Virginia, where he lived for six years before heading out to Kentucky. He took a short detour to live in New Orleans—perhaps after floating down the Mississippi while carrying goods to market in the Crescent City—before moving back to Kentucky, this time to Hardin County, near the site where Abraham Lincoln would soon be born (1809). Sterrit stayed in Hardin County twenty-five years before beginning another series of moves late in his life.[28]

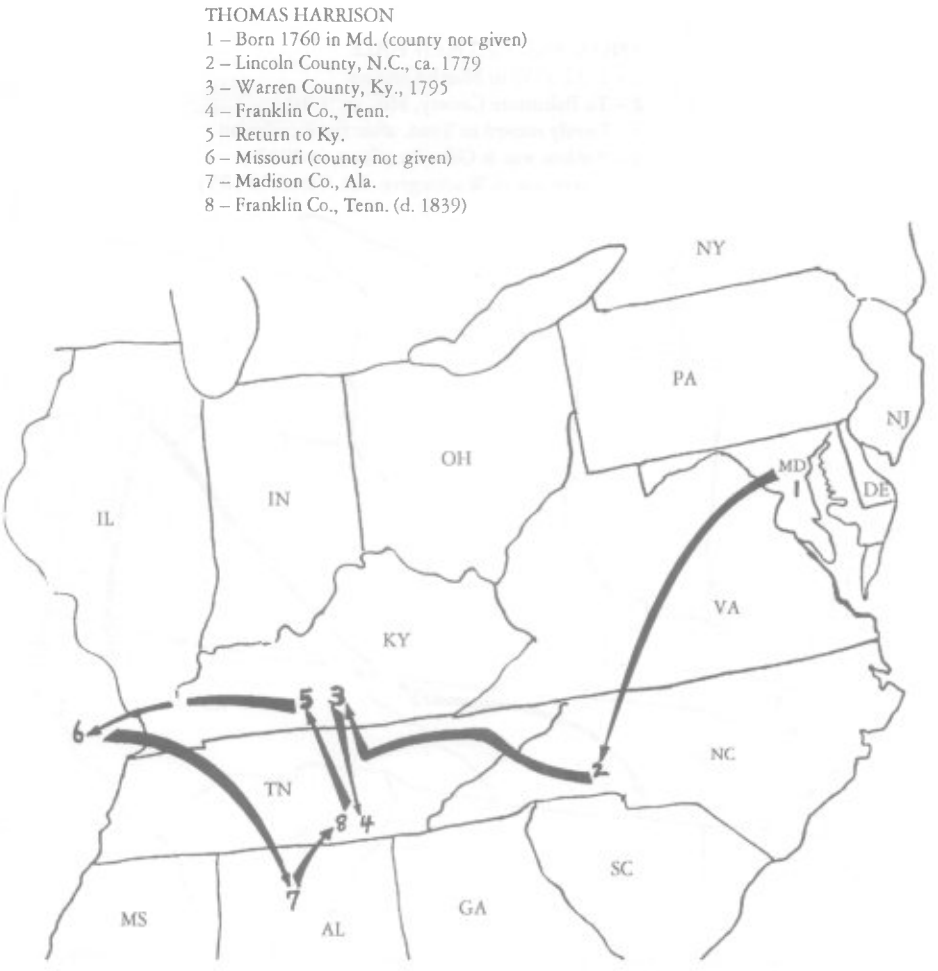
Robert Simmonds followed a similar path. Born in 1757 in Kent County, he joined the Revolutionary army at the age of eighteen. After the war he returned to Kent County, where the tax assessor listed him as a pauper in 1783. In 1794, at the age of thirty-seven, he ventured across the Chesapeake Bay to Calvert County, where he briefly settled. The next summer he moved another seventy or so miles to the western Maryland town of Hagerstown, where he "wrote in the clerk's office," probably as an assistant to the Washington County clerk. Later that year, perhaps with the money he earned from his writ-



Brothers Amon and Nathan Hale left together and traveled hundreds of miles before settling down with their families. (Map courtesy of Henry C. Peden, Jr.)

ing, Simmonds set out across the mountains to the area near Lexington, Kentucky. He lived around Lexington for six years before moving again, at the age of forty-four, to Harrison County, Kentucky, just two counties north of Lexington. He lived there, near the town of Cynthiana, another four or five years, before moving fifty miles north to Hamilton County, Ohio, near Cincinnati, where he remained for twenty years until the death of his wife.[29] Similarly, despite moving five times in his life, Alexander Anderson settled in Dickerson County, Tennessee, for twenty-three years between the ages of forty-six and sixty-nine.[30]

Even the most frequent migrants, therefore, were not always floaters. Nearly all could be expected to settle down during the middle portion of their lives and become longtime residents of one community during their most productive economic years when they were most likely in the process of raising a family. In



Thomas Harrison, one of Maryland's emigrating veterans, moved eight times during and after the Revolution. (Map courtesy of Henry C. Peden, Jr.)

this way, most migrants became, for a significant portion of their lives, part of the stable "core" within a western town.

After this period of stability the Revolutionary generation entered old age and their children frequently left home. These circumstances prompted a new cluster of moves in the pensioners' later years.[31] These middle-aged and elderly people moved due to age and infirmity, the death of a spouse, and a desire to spend their last years with other family members. For example, when in his seventies, Stewart Steritt moved a hundred miles north from Harrison County, Indiana, to Vigo County, near the Wabash River. The old soldier had crossed the Atlantic Ocean and journeyed six hundred miles across a new continent before dying in Vigo County at the age of seventy-seven. Similarly, Robert Simmonds moved at the age of sixty-nine, after his wife died, to live

with his daughter. He then moved another hundred miles in his late seventies. Another elderly veteran, John Hamilton, reported that at age eighty-nine he had "lately removed" to Davis County, Missouri, from Adair County, Kentucky, a distance of nearly four hundred miles. Hamilton described the reasoning behind this move with unusual detail in an 1841 deposition.

> His wife, who is like himself aged and infirm and without children or any near relation in Kentucky was desirous to remove to Missouri where she might be near a nephew, who, at her death will be the rightful heir of a small family of negroes left her by an aunt during her life, also being himself from age unable to attend to business of any kind and having the assurance that he would be relieved from all care, together with a desire to leave his wife, in case of his death (which will probably first occur) with her nephew and family.

The elderly couple made a four-hundred-mile trek in order to be with family and to have someone to look after them in their old age. The nephew probably benefitted from their move by having the use of their slaves. He also may have received a portion of Hamilton's pension of $120 per year.

The children of these pensioners often continued this pattern of migration. Although the pension files rarely contain information on the fate of the pensioners' children, several applicants mentioned children living in other states. Many of the elderly migrants moved to be with these children. Others, such as Josiah Hoskinson of Scioto County, Ohio, reported that their children had moved further west. Of Hoskinson's four children, two married daughters still lived in Scioto County in 1819, but a third had moved west to Illinois, and his only son had settled in Iowa. Similarly, John McAdow of Mason County, Kentucky, had a son, George, who reportedly had moved to Platte County in western Missouri by 1852. A generation that had started moving in the 1750s was still journeying onward throughout the 1840s, and the westward movement continued even after they died.[32]

Persisters and Movers

The search for economic advancement appears to have been an important factor in many veterans' initial decisions to leave home, although it is difficult to judge whether young veterans were more concerned with becoming rich or with providing for their families. Whatever their motivations, poorer veterans were more likely to leave home than were their wealthier counterparts, and in general they made some economic gains as a result of this decision.

Of those veterans in the sample whose wealth was assessed in Maryland's 1783 assessment, movers averaged less than half as much wealth as persisters—£110 compared to £241.[33] Dividing these persisters and movers into three parts—poor men (less than £15), rich men (more than £500), and those between—shows

1818 Pensioners by Region

Region	1818 Pensioners	Total Pensioners	Percent 1818
Maryland	25	58	43
Adjacent States	19	37	51
Northeast States	6	7	86
Western States	22	71	31
Southern States	3	15	20
Total	75	188	

that although for both the persisters and the movers 45 percent were poor, the poorer persisters and the poorer movers were quite different. Of the eight poorer movers, five were listed as paupers in the 1783 tax assessment, indicating that they were most likely household heads with property worth £10 or less.[34] By contrast, only one of the poorer persisters was a pauper, while five were listed simply as single men with no property. Only one of the poorer migrants was listed this way. The poor people who stayed on appear to have been mainly unmarried sons who probably were still living with or near their parents. Perhaps these men stood to gain a sizable inheritance at the time of their fathers' deaths. By contrast, the poor people who left Maryland appear to have been already married and beginning families of their own. Perhaps these men either did not expect an adequate inheritance or could not wait for it due to pressures to provide for their new families. Veterans of more middling wealth may also have been lured by western land lotteries or by speculative opportunities.[35]

The richest men, those worth £500 or more, overwhelmingly remained in Maryland. Four of the twenty persisters whose wealth could be assessed (20 percent) fell into this category, compared to only one of the eighteen movers (6 percent). But the difference was greater still, for the lone rich mover was worth only £544, just barely enough to qualify for the top category, and significantly less than any of the rich persisters, whose wealth ranged from £615 to £1,595. Bryan Philpot, the richest of the persisters, owned 1,005 acres of Baltimore County land, valued at £1,068, and five slaves. By contrast, John McAdow, the richest of the movers, owned only 250 acres of land valued at £312.[36]

So, although the very richest veterans nearly always remained in Maryland, veterans from less wealthy backgrounds were more evenly divided between those who stayed and those who left. All we can conclude is that economic scarcity sometimes pushed young men to leave Maryland and sometimes did not and that their decision to leave Maryland was often based on family considerations, but individual economic aspirations probably also played a part.[37] Great wealth, on the other hand, most frequently tied them to their birthplaces.[38]

If many migrants left home hoping to improve their economic standing, those who moved to newer lands in the West and South more frequently suc-

Distribution of Wealth of Western Migrants and Persisters

Net Worth	Migrants (n=18)	Persisters (n=20)
0-£15*	8 (44%)	9 (45%)
£16-£500	9 (50%)	7 (35%)
£500+	1 (6%)	4 (20%)

Note: N=38. Based on 1783 Tax Assessments.
* Includes paupers.

ceeded than those who remained in Maryland and its neighboring states. This conclusion is based on a comparison between pensioners who qualified under the 1818 law and those who qualified under the 1832 law. The 1818 law essentially provided relief for poor veterans and their widows.[39] It required that veterans show economic need when applying for a pension.[40] By contrast, the 1832 act was a genuine pension, with no financial requirements. Although undoubtedly there was some fraud, it is safe to assume that the 1818 pensioners generally were poorer than the 1832 group, which did not qualify for pensions earlier, presumably because they were not in need.[41]

By this measure, western and southern migrants were somewhat more financially secure than those veterans who remained in Maryland. Although 43 percent of the persisters had been poor enough to qualify under the 1818 act, only 31 percent of the western migrants and 20 percent of the southerners did so. This difference is interesting in light of the fact that the richest veterans tended to stay put in Maryland rather than migrate west. Based on the presence of these rich men, Maryland pensioners who stayed at home should have been, in the aggregate, wealthier than the migrants. Instead, Maryland pensioners on the whole appear to have been poorer in later life.[42] Despite beginning life at a slightly lower economic stratum than the persisters, western and southern migrants as a group appear to have been somewhat more financially secure in later life, although there were certainly many individual exceptions. Nevertheless, the decision to migrate was generally a wise one from an economic standpoint.

But some migrants, those who moved to adjacent states and the few who struck out to the northeast, were even less financially successful than those who remained at home. A majority of both these groups was poor enough to qualify for the 1818 pension. The important difference between this group and the more secure southerners and westerners is that they migrated to older lands that often were fairly well settled when they arrived, while the areas in the West and the western portion of the South were much newer. Not all migration led to improved economic conditions; it was movement to new or very recently settled regions that proved most profitable.

This general improvement in economic status for migrants to new lands suggests that these areas did serve as a safety valve of sorts. Poor Marylanders as a rule did not get rich by moving west, but by leaving home many of them probably advanced more than they would have back in Maryland. Migration offered a real, if limited, opportunity for poor men to obtain a small competency. Given the push of a stagnant economy in Maryland and the pull of the recently opened trans-Appalachian frontier, it is not surprising that so many Marylanders of the Revolutionary generation left home.

Neither Rootless Nor Unstable

Historians have been right to worry that so much movement might have created unstable communities in the United States. Yet in other ways this tremendous mobility may have promoted stability. Landless migrants did not get rich when they moved west, but most became just a bit better off than they had been, perhaps even gaining that small competency they had sought for themselves and their children in the new lands to the west. In this way migration acted as a limited safety valve, providing modest prosperity to rural people who might otherwise be discontented and landless in the East.

Because their movements typically came in stages, bracketed around at least one longer period of residence in a single town, these veterans also usually belonged to the more stable "core" group for a sizable portion of their lives. This period of settlement allowed them to develop relatively deep roots in a community. It also tended to create more stable communities in the West than would be expected if the veterans had migrated in a more continuous or random fashion.

The revolutionary generation of Marylanders was without doubt a generation in motion, but it was by no means a rootless or unstable generation. Usually, mobility provided some small level of economic security unavailable in Maryland. And even the most mobile members of the revolutionary generation usually settled down in one place during the middle portion of their lives. They may have been a generation of movers, but they were not a generation of strangers.

NOTES

1. George Uselton pension application (W1100). Applications are contained in the National Archives and Records Service General Services Administration, microfilm series M804. They are arranged alphabetically and identified by state and by a file number preceded by "W" for widow "S" for survivor and "R" for rejected.

2. Historians now view the eighteenth century as a "migration transition," a period during

which mobility dramatically increased. This rise in migration in Maryland was pronounced after the American Revolution due to the increased availability of land to the west, land lotteries, and to soil exhaustion and a growing population in the eastern areas, especially in the older tobacco-growing sections. See Douglas Jones, *Village and Seaport: Migration and Society in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts* (New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1981), xiv; Bayly Ellen Marks, *Economics and Society in a Staple Plantation System: St. Mary's County, Maryland 1790–1840* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1979), 317–330; Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*, third edition (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 247; Henry C. Peden, Jr., *Marylanders to Kentucky* (Westminster Md.: Family Line Publications, 1991); Gordon Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 133.

3. This sample of 188 Revolutionary War veterans was constructed by taking the name of every tenth soldier in the alphabetical list of Maryland soldiers who applied for Revolutionary War pensions in Harry Wright Newman, *Maryland Revolutionary Records* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1967), 7–56. Unfortunately, Newman's list, which to my knowledge is the only one of its type for Maryland, excludes black veterans and white veterans who married black women. The pension applications are located in alphabetical order in microfilm series at the National Archives in Washington, DC. Most of the soldiers in this sample were born between 1749 and 1764.

This method differs from earlier studies that focused primarily on the decennial census, which began in 1790. The principal drawback of that method is the extreme cumbersomeness of tracing individual migrants through the various censuses through time. Thus researchers have generally limited their studies to one specific locale, using disappearances from the census as a rough index of mobility. Such a scheme measures mobility within a region rather than the rates of mobility for individuals, which is more closely approximated by the method used in this study. Other scholars have used muster rolls or genealogies to overcome these difficulties, but these sources, too, have serious limitations. See G. C. Villaflour and K. L. Sokoloff, "Migration in Colonial America: Evidence from the Militia Rolls," *Social Science History*, 6 (1982): 539–570, and J. W. Adams and A. B. Kasakoff, "Migration and the Family in Colonial New England: The View from Genealogies," *Journal of Family History*, 9 (Spring 1984): 24–42. To my knowledge, the only other study to use pension applications for this purpose is Theodore Crackel, "Longitudinal Migration in America, 1780–1840: A Study of the Revolutionary War Pension Records," *Historical Methods*, 14 (1981): 133–137. Using a summary report rather than the applications themselves, Crackel found an average mobility rate of 54 percent. For discussions of the pension files as a source see Crackel; Constance B. Schulz, "Revolutionary War Pension Applications: An Overview," in Timothy Walch, ed., *Our Family, Our Town* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1987); John Dann (ed.) *The Revolution Remembered* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), xv–xxii; and Howard Wehman's introduction to "Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files" (National Archives descriptive pamphlet, 1974).

Of course, one must ask how representative this sample is of the generation as a whole. All the members of the sample were, by definition, Maryland Revolutionary War soldiers,

a group that historians Edward Papenfuse and Gregory Stiverson have concluded tended to belong to the "lowest social and economic class of whites in Maryland," frequently poor landowners, tenant farmers or even indentured servants. See Edward C. Papenfuse and Gregory Stiverson, "General Smallwood's Recruits: The Peacetime Career of the Revolutionary War Private," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Series, 35 (1978): 126. However, as my study suggests, although the upper classes are underrepresented, they are not unrepresented. The veterans in the sample also were exceptional in their longevity. They all remained alive until at least 1818 when Congress passed the first pension act, and several were still alive in 1832.

As a result of class and age biases, mobility rates found in this study may be somewhat higher than those for the population at large. However, the generally high mobility rates found by other researchers using other sorts of samples and the fact that a large proportion of the men born in the years around 1750 served as Revolutionary War soldiers offers some encouragement that this sample is fairly representative of that generation as a whole.

4. Other historians studying this period using different methods have also found very high mobility rates in Maryland and other states, although their figures tend to be slightly lower than those found in this study. See Marks, *Economics and Society in a Staple Plantation System,* 304–310 and Jones, *Village and Seaport: Migration and Society in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts,* xiv, 106–108.

5. Andrew Cayton and Peter Onuf, *The Midwest and the Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 29–30; Rowland Berthoff, "The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis," *American Historical Review,* 65 (1960): 502.

6. Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 47–164; Lacy K. Ford, Jr., "Frontier Democracy: The Turner Thesis Revisited," *Journal of the Early Republic,* 13 (1993): 144–163; Jackson K. Putnam, "The Turner Thesis and Westward Movement: A Reappraisal," *Western Historical Quarterly,* 7 (1976): 377–404.

7. The Turner hypothesis is validated only in this limited sense. Other aspects of the safety valve theory—for instance that western migrants had been urban workers—have long since been decisively refuted.

8. The exact figure was 44 percent of the sixty-one applications in which the migrants indicated date of first migration.

9. For the purposes of this study I have grouped the counties as follows: western—Washington, Frederick, Montgomery; middle—Baltimore, Harford, Cecil; southern—Prince Georges, Anne Arundel, Charles, Calvert; Eastern Shore—Kent, Queen Anne's, Talbot, Caroline, Dorchester, Somerset, Worcester. Other present-day counties did not yet exist. Eight of the twelve Maryland born veterans who reported their county of birth were born in the eastern and southern counties, while the remaining four were evenly split between the western and middle counties.

10. John Smith pension application (S6117).

11. Of the twenty-seven pre-war migrants, fifteen (56 percent) called western Maryland home, although some, like Smith, lived there only briefly.

12. With the close of the French and Indian War, the threat was diminished, but in 1778, and again in 1779, Anglo-American settlers and Native Americans engaged in skirmishes. In 1789 and 1794 western Marylanders participated in federal efforts to quell hostile Indi-

ans along the Maumee River in Ohio. See J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1882), 100–103.

13. Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 23–24.

14. John Gebhart pension application (W10054).

15. See, for example, Michael Luther pension application (W4721). Luther, the lone German emigrant, was born in Strasbourg (now in France) in 1751 and emigrated to Alexandria, Virginia, at the age of eight. From there he and his family moved to Frederick, Maryland, where Luther and his brother George enlisted. Luther was married in 1789, and shortly thereafter he migrated south to Randolph County, North Carolina, a path George also followed.

16. A second destination for Maryland migrants prior to the Revolution was North Carolina. Robert Ramsey, *Carolina Cradle* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1964) identifies Maryland, and especially the Eastern Shore, as a source of much of the influx of population into North Carolina between 1730 and 1754. Ramsey attributed this migration to rising land prices and soil depletion in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

17. Robert Doherty, *Society and Power* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), 30–45, estimated that perhaps as many as 80 percent of the early nineteenth-century Massachusetts population fit into the transient category.

18. At least 76 percent of the men in the sample of Maryland pensioners left their home county and 69 percent left the state of Maryland altogether. This is a conservative estimate, as only those veterans whose applications indisputedly showed they had moved were included in the 76 percent figure. Probably many applicants whose files did not conclusively indicate whether they had moved during their lifetimes had in fact moved at least once. When possible this study uses place of birth for the pensioners as their place of origin, but because only a minority stated their birthplace, place of enlistment was substituted in some cases. All told, 128 of the 188 veterans reported their place of birth or place of enlistment.

19. The average was 2.98 times.

20. Arthur E. Karinen, *Numerical and Distributional Aspects of Maryland Population, 1631–1840* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1958), 110.

21. Drawn from census tables in Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, 2:1553–1554.

22. James Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972) is perhaps the clearest proponent of economic causation, while James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Pre-Industrial America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 35 (1978): 3–32 is the classic statement of familial causation. Other authors, particularly Robert Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977) noted that both sets of causes were valid, and more recently the debate seems to have shifted to one over the more subtle matter of emphasis. Jack Greene, "Independence, Improvement, and Authority" in Ronald Hoffman, ed., *An Uncivil War* (Virginia: U.S. Capital Historical Society, 1985) and *Pursuits of Happiness* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 196–197, reconciles Henretta's and Lemon's approaches by stressing both the colonial Americans' desire for independence (political and financial) and their concern for the long-term financial security of their families.

23. John W. Adams and Alice B. Kasakoff noted a similar pattern in New England in "Migration and the Family in Colonial New England: The View from Genealogies," 32–33.
24. Of the twenty-two western migrants who reported both their dates of marriage and their migration histories, exactly half married before they left Maryland and half after.
25. William T. Bullock pension application (W9765); Robert Stewart pension application (S39089); Peter Shears application (W9286).
26. See, for example, George Uselton pension application (W1100).
27. For an example of brothers migrating together see the John McAdow pension application (R6581). For an example of a pensioner who had Maryland friends living nearby in Ohio see the William Pack application (R7852). George Uselton (W1100) had an acquaintance named Thomas Garner who claimed to have known him in both Kentucky and Tennessee, where Uselton lived in later life. Bayly Ellen Marks concludes that family units often migrated together and suggests that groups of Catholics may have migrated together. Marks, *Economics and Society in a Staple Plantation System,* 323, 342–343.
28. Stewart Sterrit pension application (S31991).
29. Robert Simmonds pension application (S4836). 1783 Kent County 2nd District Tax Assessment, 4.
30. Alexander Anderson pension application (S2340). For other examples see Stewart Sterrit (S31991), Robert Simmonds (S4836), John Brimmage (S38568) William T. Bullock (W9765), Jesse Manly (R6866), John Miller (W2647), Peter Shears (W9286), John Stafford (W11554), Robert Stewart (S39089), Thomas Tucker (S3835), George Uselton (W1100), and John Whitaker (W9001).
31. I located eleven migrants who moved between the ages of sixty-five and eighty-nine: Alexander Anderson (S2340), Thomas Beddo (W5816), John Brimmage (S38568), John Collins (S2442), John Crouse (R2535), John Hamilton (S18010), Robert Simmonds (S4836), John Stafford (W1154), Stewart Sterrit (S31991), George Uselton (W1100), and John Whitaker (W9001).
32. Pension applications of John Hoskinson (S41649) and John McAdow (R6581).
33. This sub-sample consists of thirty-eight pensioners who were listed in their home counties (as indicated on their pension applications) in the 1783 House of Delegates Assessment records for the Maryland counties. Of these, eighteen went west and twenty remained in Maryland. Photostat copies of these assessments are located in the Maryland State Archives at Annapolis. Records for Worcester, Frederick, and Prince George's counties are missing.
34. Kiltey, *Laws of Maryland,* vol. 1, November 1782, chapter vi, section X.
35. Peden, *Marylanders to Kentucky;* see also Marks, *Economics and Society,* 329–330. Veterans receiving bounty land warrants were no more likely to migrate than those who did not receive them. Seventeen percent (32) of my group of 188 veterans applied and qualified for the warrants (although some apparently never claimed them). Of these 32, 41 percent remained in Maryland, compared to 31 percent of the sample as a whole. Thirty-eight percent migrated to the western states, exactly the same as the percentage of the larger sample that went west. These statistics suggest that most veterans who received bounty land warrants decided to sell them rather than actually settle on their warrant acreage.
36. Bryan Philpot pension application W5543; 1783 Baltimore County East Assessment, 6.

John McAdow pension application R6581; 1783 Harford County Upper Assessment, 110.

37. Perhaps differences in family situation played a part here. Unfortunately the evidence is far from conclusive.

38. A second piece of evidence also supports the notion that the wealthiest veterans remained in Maryland. Of the 188 pensioners studied, twenty-three were commissioned officers (holding the rank of ensign or lieutenant and above, and one surgeon). It seems reasonable to assume that these officers generally came from a higher economic status than the mass of enlisted men, and indeed four of the five richest men in the 1783 tax assessment sample were officers.

39. The 1818 act was intended to provide relief for veterans in "reduced circumstances," and it required that applicants provide substantiation that they were in need, but no explicit instructions on how to substantiate these claims were given. This act is printed in *Public Statutes of the United States,* vol. 3 (Boston, 1861), 410–411. The 1820 revision (569–570) tightened the need requirement by instructing applicants to provide a list of property. These acts are also discussed in Crackel, "Longitudinal Migration in America, 1780–1840: A Study of Revolutionary War Pension Records"; Constance B. Schulz, "Revolutionary War Pension Applications: An Overview" in Walch, ed., *Our Family our Town.* The 1832 act is printed in *Public Statutes . . .,* vol. 4 (Boston, 1850), 529–530.

40. Most applicants in this sample who applied under the 1818 act explicitly stated that they were in financial need; it is clear that they understood the act to be intended to relieve the indigent and believed themselves to be in need of assistance.

41. Ninety-one-year-old John McAdow told a clerk in 1836, "He would not now apply for a pension but that he is getting very infirm and incapable of attending his farm. He would have applied for it some years ago but did not then need it." (R6581).

42. It is possible, of course, that some of the 1818 pensioners listed in Maryland or adjacent states migrated between 1818 and 1832. Yet the overwhelming majority of migrants left Maryland by 1800, so this group was not significant. A second methodological problem is that the wealthy might tend not to apply for pensions either in 1832 or 1818 since they already had plenty of money. In this case they would go unnoticed. The fact that officers are strongly represented in this sample of pensioners, however, tends to support a different conclusion—that the wealthy, because of their better knowledge of the law and their connections, were proportionately *more* likely to apply for pensions when they could qualify.

Machine-gun practice at Camp Ritchie, 1927. The sale of this Maryland National Guard facility to the U.S. Army in 1951 prompted the Maryland Military Department to look for a new site. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC2117-325.)

Racing, Real Estate, and Realpolitik: The Havre De Grace State Military Reservation

MERLE T. COLE

A reader studying Article 65 of the Maryland Code might be surprised to encounter Section 58:

> From and after June 1, 1952, the State of Maryland and/or the Maryland National Guard shall not acquire for military purposes of any nature, by purchase or condemnation, or by any other form of conveyance except gift, any legal or equitable interest in, or any right, title or interest to any part or all of the properties described generally hereinbelow:
>
> (1) The so-called James Farm or Old Bay Farm in Harford County, Maryland, consisting of approximately 275 acres, more or less, said farm lying adjacent to and in a southwesterly direction from the property formerly known as the Havre de Grace racetrack, and being the property described among the land records of Harford County, Liber S.W.C. No. 242, folio 453.
>
> (2) The so-called Levering Farm in Harford County, consisting of approximately 550 acres more or less, said farm lying adjacent to and in a southwesterly direction from the James or Old Bay Farm described herein, and being the property conveyed to H. John Kenney by deed dated October 29, 1951 and recorded among the land records of Harford County in Liber G.R.G. No. 364, folio 4.[1]

What provoked this extraordinary measure, a total ban on acquisition of some 825 acres of Maryland soil? The answer is complex, involving such diverse issues as national and state military needs, horseracing, legislative oversight, and the reputation of one of Maryland's outstanding public servants.

In the words of the investigating committee appointed by the Maryland Legislative Council, "The long chain of events . . . began on July 24, 1950, when the Federal Department of Defense notified the State that it wished to acquire Camp Ritchie for military purposes."[2] Camp (now Fort) Albert C.

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Ritchie, an installation "of about 650 acres," is situated in rugged terrain near the Pennsylvania border in eastern Washington County. The site had been acquired in April 1926 by the Maryland National Guard "for training purposes, particularly for summer encampments." On June 19, 1942, the U.S. War Department "took over the camp as the main Field Training Center for its Military Intelligence Division." The center trained intelligence analysts for the Army and Marine Corps throughout World War II. On May 1, 1946, the installation was declared surplus to Army needs and was returned to Maryland on September 15 of that year. Camp Ritchie was then "used by the State Military Department as a training area and headquarters for the [Army National] Guard." But the U.S. Army soon developed a keen desire to acquire Camp Ritchie permanently.[3]

Negotiations progressed at a leisurely pace, and "discussions as to a sale price" did not begin "until December 15, 1950." Legislation to authorize conveyance of Camp Ritchie to the Army was introduced in the General Assembly as Senate Bill (SB) 40 on January 8, 1951. The original language contained stipulations that any funds realized by the sale of Camp Ritchie be used for the exclusive benefit of the state militia, including acquisition of land and construction of buildings for instructional purposes. Amendments adopted on February 5 deleted these stipulations and inserted a requirement that the funds be used "for capital acquisition or improvements as the Board of Public Works may determine." Priority of funding militia training facilities was retained, but was not the sole legal use of sale monies. Section 1(c) of the bill specifically authorized the Maryland Military Department "to acquire, by purchase, lease or condemnation, a tract or tracts of land and to construct buildings, purchase and install equipment, and make capital improvements . . . thereon." Amended SB 40 passed the Senate on February 8 and went to the House of Delegates, where it was unanimously approved on March 30. Governor Theodore R. McKeldin signed the measure on April 13, 1951.[4]

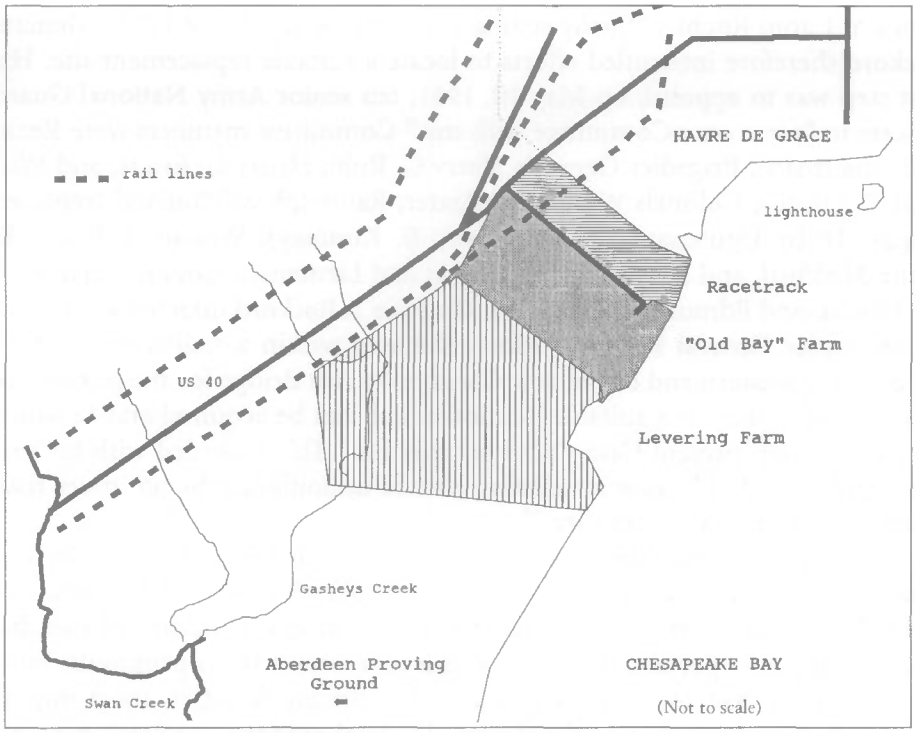
During deliberation on SB 40, "there were persistent rumors . . . that the Military Department planned to buy the Havre de Grace racetrack to replace its installation at Camp Ritchie. The rumor was mentioned openly both in the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee." One senator drafted an amendment that specifically prohibited funding purchase of the racetrack with monies from the sale of Camp Ritchie. The proposal was presented to Major General Milton A. Reckord, adjutant general and head of the Maryland Military Department. General Reckord responded with a clear denial of the rumor: "Gentlemen, don't put an amendment on the bill like that. That is a silly amendment. I hope you won't place it on the bill. . . . We are not even considering buying the Havre de Grace property." Reckord repeated the denial when queried by the House Ways and Means Committee.[5] As events matured, he came to regret his disavowals.

Soon after SB 40 became law, the Army began pressuring for early occu-

pancy of Camp Ritchie, "finally setting [the date] as the fall of 1951." General Reckord therefore intensified efforts to locate a suitable replacement site. His first step was to appoint, on May 10, 1951, ten senior Army National Guard officers to "serve on a Committee with me." Committee members were Reckord (chairman), Brigadier Generals Harry C. Ruhl, Henry C. Evans, and William C. Purnell; Colonels William C. Baxter, Randolph Millholland (replaced August 16 by Lieutenant Colonel Henry B. Kimmey), William J. Witte, E. Leslie Medford, and Roland R. McNamee; and Lieutenant Colonels Frederick M. Hewitt, and Edmund G. Beacham. On June 1, Reckord directed a subcommittee under General Ruhl to "survey the area within a radius of 12 to 15 miles of the western end of the new Chesapeake Bay Bridge for the purpose of ascertaining if there is a suitable location which can be acquired and to which we can transfer present Camp Ritchie activities." This accorded with his earlier stipulation that "a new installation should undoubtedly be not more than thirty miles from Baltimore City."[6]

The camp site committee rendered its official report on August 30. By this time, for reasons which will become obvious shortly, General Reckord had yielded the chairmanship to General Evans. The committee addressed two distinct needs, an important fact in view of later reaction to its proposals. First, the committee had to "duplicate" the Camp Ritchie facilities, most importantly offices and warehouses for state and federal property accounting; an armory building; a motor maintenance shop and parking facility; a 600-yard rifle range; housing for a battalion of troops (about 500 men); and bivouac and small unit maneuver areas. The site would require ready access to transportation and communication nets, as well as full utility services, and should be situated near a "town large enough to provide personnel for [the] maintenance shop and 729th Ordnance [Maintenance] Company." The committee then added to the equation "certain other facilities greatly needed by the Maryland National Guard [which] should be provided at any new location." These comprised a light plane landing field with hangar and repair shops, and a site "suitable for training tank drivers." A final consideration was one of simple geography: any new camp should be situated "nearer to Baltimore than Camp Ritchie is. 70% of the [Army] National Guard strength in Maryland is within 35 miles of Baltimore and that seems to be the maximum distance . . . that we should consider."

Having reviewed its selection criteria, the committee then announced that "to meet all of the requirements" the state should purchase the Havre de Grace racetrack (132 acres), the James farm (275 acres) and the Levering farm (550 acres). This recommendation followed a survey of numerous sites in Baltimore, Howard, Carroll, Anne Arundel, and Harford counties. Not only did "few other properties . . . meet more than a small portion of the requirements," but "the necessity of building the installations required would delay the use of the property for a year or more, whereas we are faced with a move



After considering locations in Baltimore, Howard, Carroll, and Anne Arundel Counties, the Army National Guard committee recommended the site of the Havre de Grace racetrack and two waterfront farms. (Map by Merle T. Cole.)

from Camp Ritchie in the next 30 to 60 days." The developed racetrack property was available for $500,000, whereas the committee estimated that similar new construction would take two years or more, and "probably cost two or three times this amount." The existing buildings were deemed adequate to meet structural needs associated with the move, utilities were in place, and water, rail, and road transport were all ready to hand.[7]

Controversy Breaks Out

The committee's recommendations became controversial for three reasons. First, General Reckord apparently had misrepresented the Military Department's intentions to the General Assembly. Second, significant doubt existed as to the propriety of Reckord's role in the transaction: he was an official of both the state (adjutant general) and of corporations involved in the sale of the racetrack. Finally, announcement of the intended purchase raised a storm of protest among Harford County residents. These citizens feared National Guard ownership would end public access to the county's last open access, unrestricted water areas of the Chesapeake Bay.

On August 29, one day before the site selection board formally submitted its report, Reckord wrote to Governor McKeldin. He summarized the board's recommendation that the racetrack and the James and Levering farms be purchased, and urged a prompt decision by the Board of Public Works in view of increasing Army pressure to occupy Camp Ritchie. The adjutant general reported that he had gotten the owners to agree to sell the racetrack for only $500,000—half its value "on the books of the owners." An evaluation by the State Engineer's office (requested by Reckord on July 24) had established "a sound value of something over $800,000." Reckord then broached the most sensitive aspect of the proposed transaction.

> But for the fact that I am identified with the present owners of the property, I would have no hesitancy whatever in recommending and urging that the State take advantage of the opportunity to acquire the property at the earliest possible moment at the price indicated, as well as the two adjoining farms.
>
> As you know, I am President of the Harford Agricultural and Breeders Association, and I am also President of the Maryland Jockey Club [Pimlico]. The Maryland Jockey Club and the Maryland State Fair Association [Laurel] now own the Havre de Grace corporation. For this reason I feel that I can do no more than assemble all the facts and figures and hand them to [Chief Engineer] Nathan [L.] Smith to present to you and the other members of the Board of Public Works with any recommendation he cares to make, and leave the matter entirely to the decision of the members of the Board of Public Works.[8]

Writing to Smith on September 8, Reckord reaffirmed his conviction that "it is inappropriate for me to approve or disapprove the report." He therefore presented it to Smith "with all pertinent papers . . . with the request that you evaluate the property and lay the matter before the Board of Public Works for their decision." Reckord again stressed the urgency of the situation and stated his availability to appear before the board if desired.[9]

Smith duly submitted the materials to the board three days later. The board —comprised of Governor McKeldin, Comptroller J. Millard Tawes and Treasurer Hooper S. Miles—met on September 13 "and on the same day unanimously approved the purchase of the Havre de Grace racetrack property to the State, for $500,000." The funds were to "come from the proceeds from the sale to the Federal Government [of Camp Ritchie], in the amount of $2,350,000.00." Reckord notified the chief of the National Guard Bureau of the purchase on September 19 and signed the deed formally transferring the racetrack to Military Department ownership on October 9.[10]

During the period when the racetrack acquisition was being consummated,

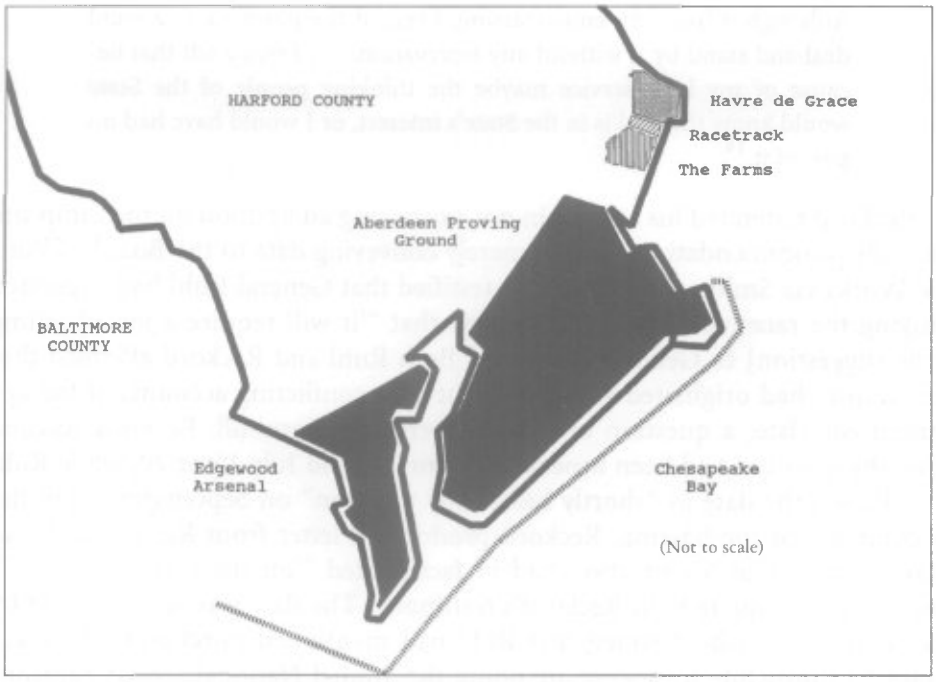
> considerable local opposition had developed in Harford County over that part of the proposals of the Military Department which concerned the purchase of the James and Levering farms. The acquisition by the Federal government of Edgewood Arsenal and the Aberdeen Proving Grounds had taken miles of the water front of Harford County out of private ownership, and the . . . farms are two of the four remaining pieces of water-front property in private ownership (the other two being the Davis and Tydings properties). Residents envisaged the County's entire water front in the hand [sic] of the military, with all right of access denied them.[11]

The *Baltimore Sun* observed that if the farms were sold to the National Guard, "all but one half of one per cent of the County's Chesapeake Bay shoreline" would be "under either State or Federal control." One Havre de Grace resident explained in a letter to Reckord that while Harford countians had been displeased with the Army's takeover, "as patriotic people, we have kept silent, assuming for various reasons that it was thought essential to the national defense." But the National Guard's needs were not so clearly established in relation to the feared denial of access. The writer opined that countians "have endured with good grace, enough, in the name of national security." From another perspective, the secretary of the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities protested that "the last of the original tidal property, on which still stand at least two ancient houses dating back to the original settlement, will be forever lost for public enjoyment."

Reckord replied reassuringly to both writers, stating that "no action whatever has been taken by . . . the Military Department . . . toward acquiring either the James or Levering properties." He stated that he would confer with "interested parties in Harford County" before any such decision was reached, that in the event the farms were purchased "no restrictions whatever would be placed upon the use of the waters of the Bay adjacent to those properties," and that any historical structures would be maintained "even better than at present." Reckord sent similar explanatory letters to the editor of the *Bel Air Aegis* and to Governor McKeldin. Reckord mentioned to the governor in closing that he did entertain hopes of making "some arrangement with the [farm] owners to use certain acreage—perhaps under a nominal lease."[12]

Enter the Turnbull Committee

Less than a week after Reckord signed the deed for the racetrack property, the Legislative Council decided to investigate the transaction. Senator John Grason Turnbull (D-Baltimore County) and Delegate Horace P. Whitworth (R-Allegany County) requested creation of an investigating committee. Council chairman Senator George W. Della (D-Baltimore City) obliged on October



The sale of the racetrack and the James and Levering farms would have given nearly all of Harford County's waterfront to the military. (Merle T. Cole.)

15, appointing Turnbull as chairman, along with Delegate C. Ray Barnes (R-Carroll County) and Senator Edward D. Turner (D-Queen Anne's County). Turnbull asserted that "charges that General Reckord had assured members of the Legislature last winter the property was not under consideration instigated the investigation."

Reckord assured Senator Della of his intention to cooperate fully with the committee. But because he had learned of the investigation only after reading an article in the *Baltimore Sun,* he chided Senator Turnbull: "I feel that you should at [least] have contacted me before going into print." Reckord also took the opportunity to reaffirm that at the time SB 40 was being considered, "no thought whatever had been given to the purchase of the Havre de Grace property, and such purchase was not contemplated."[13]

Turnbull's committee inspected the Havre de Grace facilities, then convened a public hearing on November 8–9 in the Baltimore City Council chambers, to examine witnesses and review evidence. Testimony was taken from General Reckord both as adjutant general and as president of the Maryland Jockey Club (Pimlico); from officials of the Maryland State Fair, Inc. (Laurel); from legislators and other state officials; and from certain members of the National Guard camp site selection board. On the defensive, Reckord was firm in his support of the racetrack purchase:

> Although it has been embarrassing, I regard the purchase as a good deal and stand by it without any reservation. . . . I really felt that because of my long service maybe the thinking people of the State would know the deal is in the State's interest, or I would have had no part of it.[14]

Reckord reiterated his actions in not expressing an opinion on the camp site board's recommendations, but in merely conveying data to the Board of Public Works via Smith. Colonel Baxter testified that General Ruhl had suggested buying the racetrack, and had observed that "'it will require a job of selling [the suggestion] to General Reckord.'" Both Ruhl and Reckord affirmed that the notion had originated with Ruhl, but gave conflicting accounts of the approximate date, a question of special interest to Turnbull. Reckord recalled that the question had been broached to him around July 15 or 20, while Ruhl recollected the date as "shortly before my vacation" on September 1. On the second day of the hearing, Reckord produced a letter from Ruhl (dated that day), stating that his vacation had in fact started "'on the first of August,'" which would square with Reckord's testimony. The date was corroborated by General Evans, who testified that Ruhl had mentioned purchasing the racetrack to him while they were attending the annual National Guard encampment at Camp [now Fort] A. P. Hill, Virginia, "during the first two weeks of July and the idea was proposed [to Reckord] after [the Guard's] return." Evans also stated that he "had urged the purchase over General Reckord's protest. . . . I told him that whether he as adjutant general, was embarrassed or not, it wasn't fair to the State to make it spend more money when such a site was available."

Reckord testified that he "very early gave consideration to the purchase of the James Farm," but backed down when the owner (William S. James) "protest[ed] that he did not want to sell it." A member of the Maryland Racing Commission, H. Courtenay Jenifer, testified that "during the Summer of 1950," while "on [their] way home," he and Reckord took a side trip to the Levering farm. The Adjutant General said to Jenifer, "'I'm wondering if this wouldn't be a good site for the Guard.'" Nothing else was said, according to Jenifer. Reckord testified that he had "pointed [the Levering Farm] out to Governor [William Preston] Lane from the train as they were en route to the Army-Navy game in Philadelphia in early December [1950]," and "mentioned it (though not by direct name) before a legislative committee during the session of 1951." While these incidents relate to the farms rather than the racetrack per se, they appear to indicate some degree of interest in the area at least a year before Ruhl's suggestion. Reckord also testified on November 9 that he had been negotiating with Morris Schapiro, a major Laurel and Pimlico stockholder, "'for 20 or 30 days' prior to July 30."

The Laurel and Pimlico associations had purchased the Havre de Grace

track in January 1951 by buying the majority of stock in the Harford Agricultural and Breeders Association for $1,800,000. Reckord testified that as president of the Harford County firm, he had been approached on December 15, 1950, by former senator Millard E. Tydings, a fellow member of the association's board of directors, representing the state's other one-mile race courses—Bowie, Laurel, and Pimlico. (Bowie had to withdraw its offer because of receivership difficulties). Jenifer noted that the Harford association remained "as a corporate entity, though owned by the other two tracks, and that its 25 annual racing days, as authorized by the [racing] commission, are run at Pimlico and Laurel." The committee itself noted that, "When Havre de Grace was sold, General Reckord had no interest in either Pimlico or Laurel," but that about "the time of the sale he acquired five shares of stock in Pimlico, and a few days after the sale was elected President of Pimlico."

Regarding the obvious question as to why Laurel and Pimlico would be willing to consummate a "1/2 price sale" of their recently purchased property, Laurel president John D. Schapiro testified, "'we had so many other interests involved we did not want to have a large tract of real estate on our hands.'" In addition, the firm "'considered the advantages the sale offered as a tax proposition.'" Asked about "widely circulated rumors," Schapiro stated that his family had no desire "to add Bowie Race Track to its present racing holdings." His statement about tax advantages of the sale was supported by General Reckord, who spoke as president of Pimlico:

> I think the tracks (Pimlico and Laurel) made a very fair sale. . . . They lost $500,000, but they will get some of that in view of the tax situation. . . . I think, for tax purposes, they'll be able to go back one year and forward five years, thereby cancelling out a large portion of that loss.

Reckord took advantage of his second appearance before the Turnbull Committee to "'clear some matters for the record.'" He thanked the committee for "'very considerate, equitable conduct of the hearing,'" then took the *Baltimore Sun* to task for alleged shoddy reporting.

> The questioning here has brought to some minds one point which, in justice to myself, should be clarified. . . . I think this committee has been eminently fair to all of us, but I picked up this morning's *Sun* and read an editorial which indicated that [the Military Department] paid $4,000 an acre [for the racetrack]. . . . They completely ignored the fact that what we actually bought were facilities on the ground, as well as the ground. . . . That is a misleading editorial and all I wish to stress is the fact that the State bought property which the appraiser said was worth $915,000. . . . We are now using six buildings which, at today's valuation, represent about $650,000 of the $915,000.[15]

With respect to the central issue underlying the investigation, "the apparent inconsistency of [his] statements and the action within a period of less than six months," Reckord testified:

> I didn't consider [the earlier disavowal] when this came up, I guess. If I tell the exact truth, I don't even recall the discussion, it hadn't made that impression on my mind. I never thought of it at the time, or I might have easily called you in, or some others, but I really didn't think about it; and when the Legislature wasn't in session the Board of Public Works has the power, that is, the legal authority and control, and I never thought of any opposition down there [in Annapolis] that would warrant me in presenting the matter to anybody other than the Board of Public Works. . . .
>
> I want you to know that I deeply and sincerely regret any misunderstanding that existed over the conversations that took place in Annapolis. I have been Adjutant General for thirty-one years, since 1920, and I have never knowingly misstated anything to the members of the Senate or the House, and I intended only to state the truth that day, which was that at that time we had no idea of considering the purchase of the Havre de Grace [racetrack] property.[16]

At the end of the second day of hearings, "Senator Turnbull announced that the 'committee has ended its studies for the time being.'"[17] The committee submitted its formal report to the Legislative Council on January 4, 1952. The report contained "three general sets of conclusions," along with two pieces of proposed legislation.

First, the committee concluded that "the State has made an unwise investment in purchasing the . . . racetrack for the military installation of the National Guard. The property contains only 132 acres and is patently inadequate for a normal program of training the National Guard." This inadequacy was directly attributable to the site board's proposal to purchase the track *and* the farms. The racetrack alone provided "less than one-seventh of what [the board] wanted." Further, "in meeting the public clamor against acquisition of [the farms] . . . the Military Department has seriously restricted at least its moral right to acquire either or both of these farms."

The committee also felt "uncertain whether the purchase price of $500,00 was the best bargain the State could have made." This conclusion was based on observations that the Military Department's offer was the only firm one the owners received, that there was no independent appraisal of the property before purchase, and that the Department of Public Improvements' appraisal was flawed by failure to consider the property's "value on the market in relation to potential buyers." The report criticized the Board of Public Works for approving the purchase "at the meeting at which the proposal was first presented, with no time allowed for further study of its value or the crystallizing

The sale of the Havre de Grace racetrack to the Army National Guard brought Maryland's Adjutant General Milton A. Reckord under investigation by the Legislative Council for conflict of interest. Reckord was also president of the Maryland Jockey Club and a shareholder in other Maryland racetracks. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC21117-126.)

of public opinion." Turnbull's committee offered, "as an instructive comparison," the "protracted negotiations, and . . . the offers and counter-offers, with which the State Roads Commission frequently acquires a right-of-way costing only a few hundred or thousands of dollars."

Three recommendations emerged from this first conclusion: that the Military Department be prohibited by law from acquiring in any manner the title or use of the James and Levering farms (an appropriate draft bill was included with the report); that the Military Department be instructed by the governor to use the racetrack only as a temporary installation, and to begin at once a survey to acquire a permanent site elsewhere; and, that when the racetrack was no longer needed for military use it be sold by the Board of Public Works, on the best possible terms.

Second, the committee announced that it had "misgivings as to the manner in which the sale of Havre de Grace seems to fit into the pattern of racing in this State. . . . The sale . . . may be part of a developing move to reduce the number of mile tracks . . . from four to two." At issue was not the wisdom of

the move, but the appearance that "decisions are being made by private interests, with at least the passive acquiescence of the Racing Commission." The committee noted the Racing Commission's prompt transfer of Havre de Grace's racing days to Laurel and Pimlico, and predicted that Bowie's would probably be similarly distributed if Bowie were purchased by "one or both of the other tracks." Also cited was the "anomalous situation" of the commission owing $65,000 to the Havre de Grace corporation for improvements made during 1950, "capital improvements that will never be used for racing."

The committee proclaimed that it had "no desire to invade the field normally reserved to administrative rule, yet here is a fundamental change in the character of racing in Maryland," which has been "subject only to a none-too-vigorous administrative control, and to no legislative direction whatever." To rectify this situation, the committee report included a draft bill which would require that the General Assembly review and rule on any proposed transfer of the license and racing days allocated to "any of the existing mile tracks" planned to be "permanently abandoned for racing purposes."

The report's third and final conclusion was the most sensitive, as the committee found itself expressing "regret at the role played by General Reckord in the development of the sale of Havre de Grace." The adjutant general "appeared in the story in three characters, and could hardly have expected to perform the impossible feat of escaping public criticism." After citing Reckord's multiple denials before the General Assembly of any planned purchase of the racetrack, the committee indulged in a bit of philosophy:

> The efforts of an agent to represent two principals on opposite sides of the same transaction are always open to question. He cannot hope to evade the criticism that perhaps the sale is not being conducted by two parties at arm's length. It only adds to the unfortunate aspects of the whole situation when the sale seems to be one of doubtful wisdom on the part of the buyer, as the committee pointed out . . . in its first set of conclusions.

While acknowledging that Reckord had both excused himself from chairing the site selection board and refrained from urging the Board of Public Works to approve the purchase, the committee found that, "from letters and testimony available . . . it is evident he was taking an active part in the transaction during all this period." The report ended with a pointed admonition:

> At this late date, the committee can only suggest that General Reckord would have been more prudent had he given up either his position with the Military Department or his positions with the Havre de Grace racetrack and Pimlico racetrack, before the possibility of the sale became a matter for active negotiation. This may seem to force a difficult decision upon a responsible State official, but the alternative is to face the serious risk of public criticism.

The Legislative Council approved the committee's report as submitted, along with both pieces of proposed legislation.[18]

Counterattack

Two senior members of the site selection board expressed outrage at the Turnbull Committee's report. General Evans protested that the committee had "misunderstood completely the testimony which I gave," and "failed to differentiate between the installations to be put at the racetrack and the balance of the property for training purposes." He categorized as "absurd" the finding that the racetrack was inadequate, as well as the recommendation that another site be acquired. He predicted disastrous consequences from a forced relocation.

> If we are going to be faced with a move from Havre de Grace at any time in the next 10 to 15 years we may be unable to employ and keep the civilian employees necessary for [ordnance and quartermaster maintenance activities]. The citizens of Havre de Grace who might work for the Military Department in our shops, etc. would certainly not take jobs there if they felt we were going to move in the near future. The same is true of our Ordnance Company. Young men enlisting in the Ordnance Company would hesitate to do so if they felt the Ordnance Company was going to move in a short time and they would be unable to attend drill at a new location. The move from Ritchie to Havre de Grace upset the Ordnance Company and also the civilian employees to such an extent that it would be disastrous to make another move for many years.

Evans took pains to specify that acquiring the farms was desirable but not essential to National Guard activity. The Guard was leasing a rifle range which "could be expanded to take care of the training area." In essence, "The additional training areas desired are for week-end training, and are unessential unless the Army should withdraw the privilege of using other installations in Maryland, such as Edgewood Arsenal, Fort Meade and Aberdeen Proving Grounds."

> When our committee recommended the purchase of the adjoining farms it was with a long range program in view. It is a separate problem from the [warehouse area], but while we were recommending the one we felt we should look into the future and make a recommendation covering [overall] possible needs for years to come.

It should be noted that the Turnbull Committee had, in fact, made this differentiation, but still questioned "the value to the Military Department of the . . . racetrack property." General Evans took a parting shot at the committee's attack on the adjutant general's role in the transaction:

> It is absurd to criticize General Reckord for being on 'both sides' when in my opinion it would cost the State many thousands more if the matter had been handled in any other way. General Reckord was forced into this situation by other National Guard Officers and should not be criticized. In view of General Reckord's life long service to the Guard and to the State and his unquestioned integrity and fairness, it can only appear to me that the Turnbull Committee was activated by some personal or political moves to imply criticism in any way of General Reckord. If any one should be criticized it is the committee of which I was Chairman, and not General Reckord, as we forced this matter forward in spite of General Reckord's hesitancy. In my opinion the report hits so wide of the correct answers that before any action is taken by the Legislature our Committee should be given an opportunity to correct the unjustified conclusions reached by the Turnbull Committee.[19]

General Purnell's rebuttal was even more vehement. He criticized the report as

> a startling example of how a group of elected state officials seeking to cultivate what they believe to be the prevailing public sentiment, have been willing, without any evidence whatever as the basis for their conclusions, to sacrifice the public interest and the reputation of a distinguished public official, whose services to the state and nation have been of the highest possible character for more than thirty years.

Continuing on the offensive, Purnell charged that the site was "not inadequate for the military uses of the state unless the report of the [Turnbull] Committee results in making it inadequate as it is apparently designed to do." He criticized the committee for "jeopardiz[ing] the state's investment" by proposing legislation "indefensible from the standpoint of any public interest whatever." Purnell answered the Harford County protestors by declaring:

> Under private ownership these farms are . . . not accessible to the public any more than they would be if the Federal Government, for example, owned them. Perhaps even less so. However, if acquired as part of a state military reservation they would undoubtedly assume most of the aspects of any other state owned reservation and would be open to a very large measure of public use as Camp Ritchie has always been.

He further pointed out the difference between necessarily replacing the Camp Ritchie facilities and the desirability of acquiring adequate space for large unit training. Perhaps expressing the Military Department's hopes, Purnell went on to say that, "about 100 acres added to the Havre de Grace site would make it adequate in every respect, and would make unnecessary any

Enlargement of a segment of an aerial photograph of the racetrack and Old Bay and Levering farms, taken by the Army Map Service in 1947. Havre de Grace is in the upper right corner. (National Archives.)

further substantial expenditure of public funds for its military camp site." In his opinion, treating the former racetrack as only a temporary installation showed "a complete disregard for the public interest" since the property "might have to be sold at a loss."

> There is no need whatever that this be done unless restrictions on the acquisition of sufficient adjoining property are made. I am completely unable to deduce from the report why there should be any such restrictions or why a Committee of presumably responsible public officials should endeavor to force a course of conduct involving possible loss or greater expense to the public.

Purnell concluded by challenging the assertion that "the presence of a state official on both sides of a transaction necessarily results in it being to the disadvantage of the public."

> It would appear that a personal record of distinguished public service, no matter how outstanding, or how well known, or how valuable to the state and nation, is of no consequence whatever if the circumstances make it easier and more expedient to ignore it. Despite the fact that General Reckord's personal integrity was well known to all members of the Committee, and although there was complete lack of any evidence whatsoever that his position in this transaction did anything other than benefit the state, the Committee has elected to discredit the entire transaction to the detriment of the public, apparently solely because of General Reckord's dual capacity. The Committee has apparently had neither the courage nor the good sense to separate the matter of dual capacity from the merits of the transaction itself.[20]

At the Legislative Council's meeting on January 9, 1952, Turnbull pointed out that Reckord, "in his capacity as President of the Maryland Jockey Club, had informally requested a hearing on [the measure to control] transfer of racing days." The council rejected that request, but did accept Turnbull's motion that the proposed bar to purchase of the farms be made a special order for "the next meeting . . . so that General Reckord might be heard, if he so desires." Reckord did appear at that meeting on January 15, requesting "that the Attorney General be consulted as to whether the term 'gift' would be broad enough to cover certain possible contingencies with regard to the use of certain lands adjacent to the old Havre de Grace racetrack now under lease." Following a short discussion, the council voted to submit the farms acquisition bill to the General Assembly "without recommendation, upon the request of the Adjutant General that it be so submitted and be studied for possible modification or amendment."[21]

Two bills were introduced in the House of Delegates on February 6, 1952. The control of racing days measure was designated House Bill 18, and the farms acquisition bar, HB 19. They were first referred to the Committee on Rules, and emerged approved the very next day. The two bills were promptly referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, where HB 18 languished and finally expired when the General Assembly adjourned on March 6. HB 19, however, was reported favorably from Ways and Means on February 20, then passed unanimously five days later. Sent to the Senate on February 26, HB 19 was again approved unanimously three days later. Governor McKeldin signed the measure into law on March 29, with effective date of June 1, 1952.[22]

The Turnbull Committee's racing days bill was defeated, but its farms ac-

quisition denial measure was strikingly endorsed, and not a single word of the original language was amended by the General Assembly.

Units currently stationed at the Havre de Grace Military Reservation are the United States Property and Fiscal Office; the Maryland Army National Guard's 279th Maintenance Battalion, Organizational Maintenance Shop No. 3, and Detachment 2, Company B, 229th Maintenance Support Battalion; and Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 8th Battalion, Maryland Defense Force.

NOTES

1. *The Annotated Code of the Public General Laws of Maryland, 1957*, v. 5 (Charlottesville: 1995 Replacement Volume), 107; Maryland, General Assembly, *Laws of the State of Maryland, Made and Passed at the Session of the General Assembly . . . [Feb. 6, 1952–March 6, 1952]*, chap. 47, 275–276 (hereafter *Laws of Maryland* by year).
2. Maryland, Legislative Council, Comm. on Sale of Havre de Grace Racetrack, *Report of Committee on Sale of Havre de Grace Racetrack to the Legislative Council of Maryland* (Annapolis, January 4, 1952), 4 (hereafter Turnbull Report), bound copy in the Library of Congress.
3. Ibid.; War Records Div., Maryland Historical Society, *Military Participation*, v. 1 of *Maryland in World War II* (Baltimore, 1950), 120–121.
4. Turnbull Report, 4; Maryland, General Assembly, Senate, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate, January Session, 1951*, 34, 154, 167, 202 (hereafter *J. Proc. Sen.* by session and year); Maryland, General Assembly, House of Delegates, *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates, January Session, 1951*, 303, 1706–1707 (hereafter *J. Proc. House* by session and year); *Laws of Maryland, 1951*, chap. 281, 731–733.
5. Turnbull Report, 5.
6. Ibid., 6; Reckord to Ruhl, Evans, Purnell, et al., May 10, 1951, Reckord to Ruhl, Purnell, McNamee, Baxter, and Hewitt, June 1, 1951, Ruhl to Comm. Chairman [Reckord], August 16, 1951, and Comm. Report to Adj. Gen., August 30, 1951, in file, "Havre de Grace Reservation," Maryland Military Dept. Archives, Fifth Regiment Armory, Baltimore, Maryland (hereafter HdG Reservation).
7. Comm. Report to Adj. Gen., August 30, 1951 in HdG Reservation; *Maryland Manual, 1951–52* (Annapolis, 1952), 91.
8. Reckord to McKeldin, August 29, 1951, John D. Schapiro to Reckord, July 31, 1951 and Janon Fisher, Jr. to Reckord, September 5, 1951 in HdG Reservation; Turnbull Report, 10.
9. Reckord to Smith, September 8, 1951, in HdG Reservation.
10. Turnbull Report, 12; Reckord to Chief, Natl. Guard Bureau (TWX msg), September 19, 1951, Joseph O'C. McCusker to Reckord, September 26, 1951, Reckord to William S. James, October 1, 1951, James to Reckord, October 2, 1951, Reckord to McCusker, October 2, 1951, and James to Hall Hammond, October 9, 1951 in HdG Reservation; *Baltimore Sun*, January 4, 1952.

11. Turnbull Report, 12–13.
12. Ibid.; Charles E. Bryan to Reckord, September 26, 1951, John H. Scarff to Reckord, September 28, 1951, Reckord to Bryan, October 1, 1951, Reckord to Scarff, October 1, 1951, Reckord to McKeldin, October 2, 1951 and Reckord to John D. Worthington, October 2, 1951 in HdG Reservation; *Baltimore Sun,* January 4, 1952.
13. *Baltimore Sun,* October 16 and November 9, 1951; Reckord to Della and Reckord to Turnbull, October 15, 1951 in HdG Reservation.
14. Turnbull Report, 3–4; *Baltimore Sun,* November 9, 1951.
15. *Baltimore Sun,* November 9 and 10, 1951; Turnbull Report, 4, 9–12.
16. Turnbull Report, 5–6; *Baltimore Sun,* January 4, 1952.
17. *Baltimore Sun,* November 10, 1951.
18. Turnbull Report, 14–18; *Baltimore Sun,* January 4, 1952; Maryland, Legislative Council, *Report to the General Assembly of 1952, Proposed Bills,* v. 2, A-17/18, A-34/35, A-51/A-63 (hereafter *Report to the General Assembly*).
19. "Comments on Report of Committee on Sale of Havre de Grace Race Track," [Brigadier General Henry C. Evans], January 7, 1952, in HdG Reservation; Turnbull Report, 10, 13–14.
20. "Comments on 'Report of Committee on Sale of Havre de Grace Racetrack,'" [Brigadier General William C. Purnell], January 7, 1952, in HdG Reservation.
21. *Report to the General Assembly,* A-17, A-65, A-70/71.
22. *J. Proc. House, February Sess., 1952,* 16, 139, 231, 271, 374; *J. Proc. Sen., Feb. Sess., 1952,* 211, 214, 254; *Laws of Maryland, 1952,* chap. 47, 276.

Research Note

How King William's School Became St. John's College

CHARLOTTE FLETCHER

The following article, which explains the 300 in St. John's College's 300th Anniversary in 1996, is presented as a tribute to St. John's in this important year of celebration.

After King William's School was chartered in 1696, seven actions to found a college in Maryland were introduced in the General Assembly before the American Revolution.

Since college bills required funding, they originated in the lower house where members voted the interests of their home counties. Because the house membership was split almost equally between delegates from the Eastern and Western shores, it was difficult to obtain a majority who agreed not only on a location (Eastern or Western Shore) for a college but also on how to govern and finance it. If a bill succeeded in the lower house, it then went to the upper house which represented the interests of the Calverts, the proprietors of the colony. Six different times the upper house rejected college bills because it disapproved the source of revenue tapped by the lower house. Especially disturbing to the upper house was a proposal to use fees gathered from ordinary licenses.

Ordinaries were taverns and inns. Hoping to regulate and profit from their business, the proprietors required ordinary keepers to purchase licenses for fees that they pocketed. It was the single revenue besides taxes on tobacco and land large enough to finance a Maryland college before the Revolution, and, as it turned out, after the Revolution as well.

King William's School in Annapolis was chartered by an Act of 1696,[1] three hundred years ago, and a free school was established in each county by an Act of 1723.[2] None of the revenues the Act of 1723 distributed among the counties went to King William's School which continued to operate under its charter of 1696. It was not a county school.

Charlotte Fletcher has chronicled the history of King William's School and St. John's College in a series of articles for Maryland Historical Magazine *since 1979. She is librarian emeritus of St. John's.*

Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert supported the plan for a Maryland college more than fifty years before King William's School merged with St. John's College in 1786. (Maryland Historical Society.)

No clause in the King William's School charter proposed that it become a college. In fact there was an expectation that youths educated there would continue their education at the College of William and Mary in Virginia. For a while this supposition somewhat justified the one-penny tax imposed on each pound of Maryland tobacco exported to markets outside Great Britain that was granted to William and Mary in perpetuity. But when it was realized that few if any Maryland students chose to attend the distant Virginia college, Marylanders resented the tax.[3]

Yet through the years Maryland and Virginia did benefit from each other's institutions of learning. In 1826, James Madison recommended that a St. John's College graduate of the class of 1797, John Tayloe Lomax, become the University of Virginia's first professor of law. In 1937 a group of teachers from the University of Virginia helped establish the New Program at a St. John's that was nearly bankrupt. To commemorate the 250th anniversary of the founding of King William's School in 1946, one of the Virginia group, Stringfellow Barr, hung a bronze tablet under the front portico of McDowell Hall on the St. John's campus which reads: "To this hall in 1785 (it should have read 1786) . . . came the students and masters of the school with their books, and made one with the new college. This will remind men that all halls of learning are one hall."

The "oneness" that Mr. Barr wrote of is what others have called the consolidation of the assets of King William's School with those of St. John's College in 1786. I call it a merger, for King William's School and St. John's College united to form a new entity.[4]

The Corporate Veil

To "pierce the corporate veil" and say two bodies have become one entity is the work of a corporate lawyer, but I have given it a try. I have examined the minutes of the St. John's board and the *Proceedings* of the Maryland legislature for the months of February and March 1786 to discover the legal actions that merged King William's and St. John's. What I found convinced me that the sign on the campus saying "St. John's College founded as King William's School in 1696" speaks the truth.

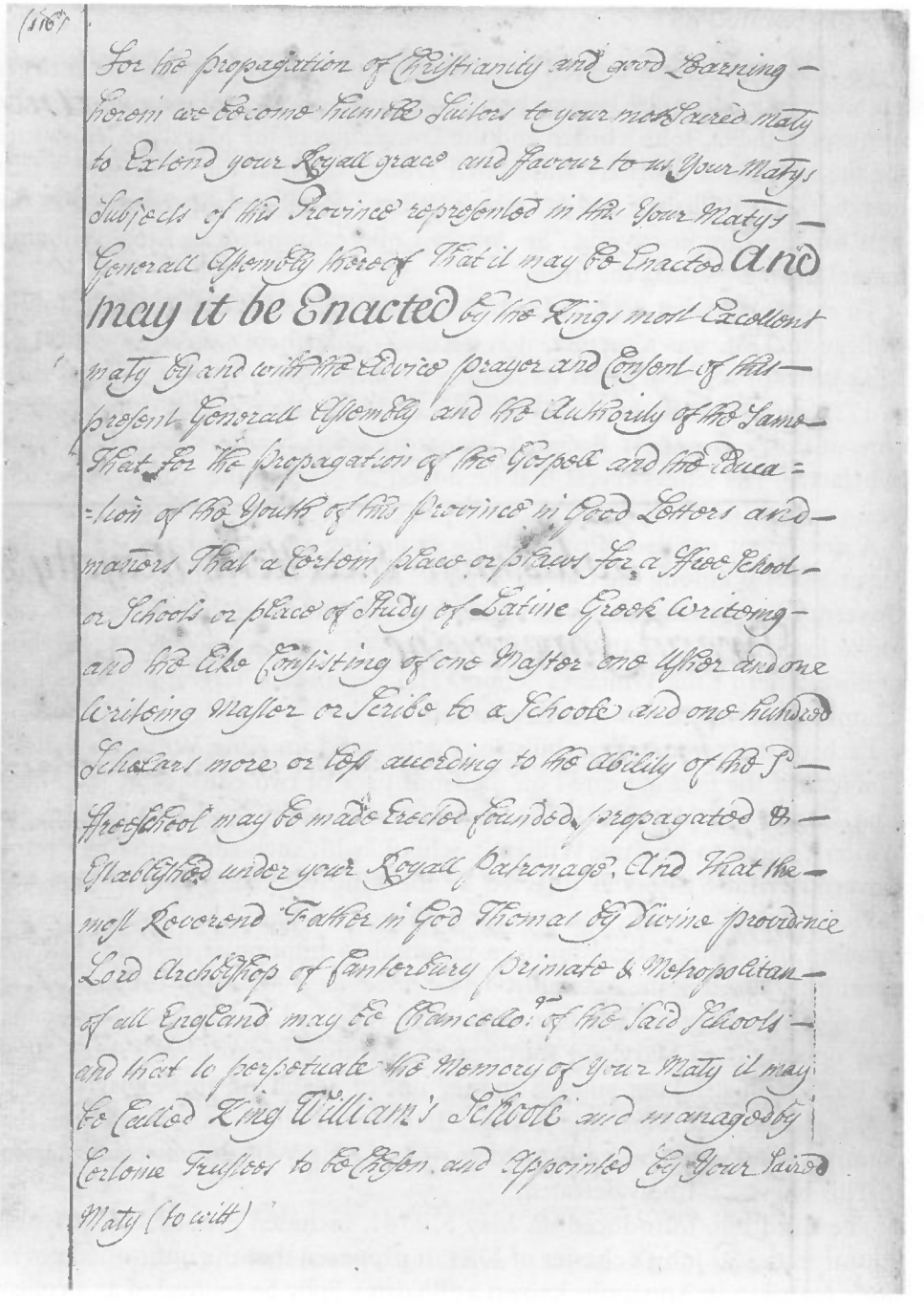
To show that what occurred between King William's School and St. John's College in 1786 was a merger, it is necessary that there was an intention on King William's School's part to become a college. Records reveal that as early as 1728 some trustees of King William's dreamed of making it into a college. One of these, Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert, was the school's greatest benefactor. His letters reveal that he hoped to develop the Annapolis school into a college.

A document entitled "Proposals for Founding an Academy at Annapolis" (circa 1730) is among the Calvert papers.[5] Its most likely author and sponsor, Governor Calvert, did not live to introduce it in the Assembly. But before sailing to England in 1732 to die, Governor Calvert wrote a will leaving one third of his estate to King William's School. This became the largest portion of the school's endowment until the Revolution.[6]

Each of the seven college bills sought to build on King William's School. The text of the first appeared on the front page of two editions of the *Maryland Gazette* on May 10, 1750, proposing two colleges, the college on the Western Shore to be King William's School "with such succession of Rector, Governors and Visitors as directed by the King William's School charter of 1696." In addition to the assets of King William's it was to be financed by confiscation of county school funds, a proposal so unpopular that this bill was never introduced in the Assembly.

A second college bill was promulgated in 1754 by legislators who knew that over one hundred Maryland youths were attending the Academy and College of Philadelphia, taking enough money out of Maryland to Pennsylvania to build at least one Maryland college. It repeated the recommendation that county school funds be confiscated as well as King William's assets to pay for it. This bill was roundly defeated.[7]

The third bill, introduced on May 5, 1761, included proposals that would appear in the St. John's charter of 1784. It proposed that the unfinished governor's mansion in Annapolis known as Bladen's Folly be renovated as a college building. It also proposed that fees from ordinary licenses provide an annual income for the college. (The charter of 1784 did indeed grant the fees paid by Western Shore ordinaries to St. John's "for ever.") Once again it recommended that county schools be abolished to free revenue for the college. This



(116)

For the propagation of Christianity and good Learning — Wherein are become humble Suitors to your most Sacred Maty to Extend your Royall grace and favour to us Your Matys Subjects of this Province represented in this Your Matys — Generall Assembly Where of That it may be Enacted **and may it be Enacted** by the Kings most Excellent Maty by and with the Advice prayer and Consent of this — present Generall Assembly and the Authority of the Same — That for the propagation of the Gospel and the Educa = = tion of the Youth of this province in Good Letters and — manners That a Certain place or places for a Free School — or Schools or place of Study of Latine Greek Writing — and the like Consisting of one Master one Usher and one Writing Master or Scribe to a Schoole and one hundred Scholars more or less according to the Ability of the P — Free School may be made Erected founded propagated & — Established under your Royall Patronage: And That the — most Reverend Father in God Thomas by Divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury Primate & Metropolitan — of all England may be Chancellor of the said Schools — and that to perpetuate the Memory of Your Maty it may be Called King William's School and managed by Certaine Trustees to be Chosen and Appointed by Your Said Maty (to wit)

King William's School, chartered in 1696 "For the Propagation of the Gospel and the Education of the Youth of this Province," fought repeated legislative battles over its funding. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 1878-183.)

The King William's School sat next to the State House in Annapolis. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 194-3.)

college, if the mansion housed it, would be in Annapolis, and the bill proposed that the present trustees of King William's govern it. This bill was soundly defeated.

One day later, Charles Carroll, the Barrister, a trustee of King William's, introduced a more conciliatory bill. He again proposed that ordinary licenses provide it an annual income. But instead of suggesting that the county school funds and the assets of King William's School be consolidated he proposed that a lottery finance the renovation of Bladen's Folly as a college building.

In order to earn the much needed votes of members of the country party, Carroll proposed that "one representative of each county . . . be named a Visitor with those of King William's School," thus giving the counties a share in the governance of the college while preserving the King William's board. This act passed the lower house by a wide margin. But the upper house would not deprive the proprietor of the license fees which he called the "very essence of my prerogative." So it killed the bill.[8]

Three subsequent bills to found a college in Maryland—a fifth, sixth, and seventh—concerned financing only.

The fifth bill, introduced in 1763, added a balance of 300 pounds in the Loan Office to the fees from ordinary licenses. The upper house killed this bill because it thought that the Loan Office balance should pay off what was owed veterans of the French and Indian wars.[9]

The sixth and seventh college bills were co-introduced with the encouragement of Governor Robert Eden who asked the lower house to find a means to finance a college. So in 1771 the lower house attached a paragraph to "An Act

Charles Carroll the Barrister drafted a financial plan for a new college that included a lottery, but the upper house of the legislature rejected the idea. (Maryland Historical Society.)

for the emission of Bills of Credit" which appropriated $452,666 2/3 to found a seminary of learning. Interest collected from the bills of credit was to be locked in an iron chest with two locks and keys. Because the upper house had not been consulted in the writing of this paragraph, it was affronted. It expressed a fear that it also might not be consulted about the college curriculum and discipline. For this reason it killed the sixth bill.[10]

Two years later both houses passed this bill.

Everyone expected a Maryland college to open very soon. In October 1773, William Eddis, surveyor and "searcher of his Majesty's customs" at Annapolis, wrote that "the Assembly has endowed and founded a college for the education of youths in every liberal and useful branch of science . . . to be conducted under excellent regulations."[11]

Two years later both Eddis and Governor Eden had returned to England and the fighting had begun.

In 1780 the state of Maryland unlocked the iron chest and confiscated the money collected therein to found a college to pay instead for a "just war." But it did so with a solemn pledge that the money would be replaced as soon as possible for the funding of a public seminary of learning.[12]

In the charter of 1784 the state kept its promise by granting an annual income of 1,750 pounds, garnered from license fees paid by Western Shore ordinaries, to St. John's College "for ever." (By an act of 1786 it granted an annual income of 1,000 pounds collected from Eastern Shore ordinaries to Washington College, an Eastern Shore institution, that had been chartered in 1782.)

The campaign to charter an Eastern Shore college (Washington), and two

years later a Western Shore college (St. John's), was led by the Reverend William Smith, an experienced educator who had weathered the politics of Pennsylvania during his years as provost of the College of Philadelphia. With two other educators, the Reverend John Carroll (Roman Catholic) and the Reverend Patrick Alison (Presbyterian) who called themselves subscription agents, Smith (Episcopalian) wrote a charter for St. John's only slightly different from the one he wrote for Washington College, strongly prohibiting religious tests of either students or faculty.

On March 5, 1786 Smith wrote to Thomas Willing, president of the Bank of America in Philadelphia, who arranged a loan to finance the erection of the college building in Chestertown:

> I have been but two Nights in my own House for these 4 weeks past, & am just returned from a journey of at least 300 miles, which became necessary in the final establishment of our Colleges, & opening the Western Shore one (called St. John's) which is now fixed at Annapolis, & every Thing on my Part as an agent appointed by Law for founding & opening it, is now happily & successfully finished, the Subscriptions being above 12000 pounds besides the public endowment of 1750 pounds per annum.[13]

An experienced fund-raiser, Smith collected enough pledges from interested citizens on the Eastern and Western shores to convince the Maryland Assembly of the colleges' substantial financial support statewide. He guided both the charter of Washington College and St. John's through the Assembly and orchestrated the merger of King William's School with St. John's College.

NOTES

1. "An Act for Establishing Free Schools," William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland,* 72 vols. to date (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society), 19:420–430.
2. "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning," ibid., 34:740–46.
3. Charlotte Fletcher, "St. John's 'For Ever,'" *St. John's Review,* 40 (1990–1991): 1–14.
4. William Kilty, "Act of Consolidation," *Laws of Maryland made and passed at a session of Assembly 1786* (Annapolis: Frederick Green), ch. 39.
5. *Archives of Maryland,* 38:456–61.
6. Bernard C. Steiner, "Benedict Leonard Calvert, Esq." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 3 (1908): 192–200, 330–41; "Calvert Memorabilia," ibid., 11 (1916): 282.
7. *Archives of Maryland,* 50:482–483.
8. Ibid., 56:468–91; 9:523, 545.
9. Ibid., 58:309, 310, 393; 4:402–404.
10. Ibid., 63:34, 35.

11. William Eddis *"Letters from America"* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1769), 76.
12. William Kilty, "An Act for Calling out of Circulation the quota of this state of bills of credit issued by congress, and the bills of credit emitted by Act of Assembly," 1780.
13. William Smith to Hon. Thomas Willing, Esq., president of the Bank of America, March 5, 1786, in William Smith mss. vol. 1, no. 101, Archives, Historical Collection of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

Portfolio

In 1927, the B&O Railroad marked its centennial with "The Fair of the Iron Horse." In its fourteen days, 1.3 million people attended the gala celebrating a century of progress in transportation.

The Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society recently acquired B&O President Daniel Williard's photograph album of the fair. The following selection is presented as a snapshot tour of the pageants, floats, displays, exhibits, and reenactments.

P.D.A.

Advertising poster

Characters in the pageant

"Tribe of Blackfeet"

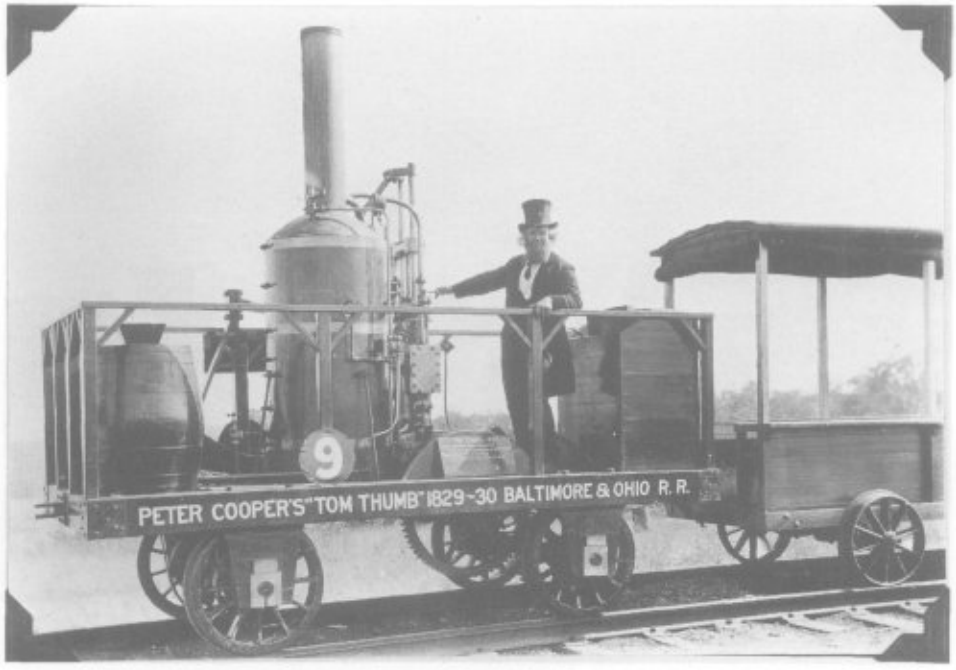
Marquette and Joliet discover and bless the Mississippi River

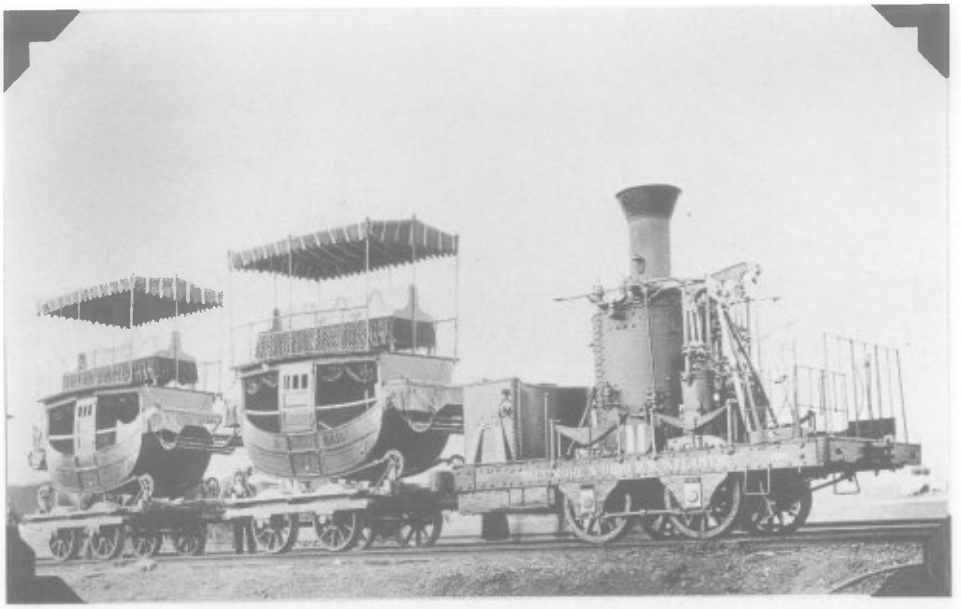
"Tobacco rollers"

"Charles Carroll of Carrollton"

Sail car

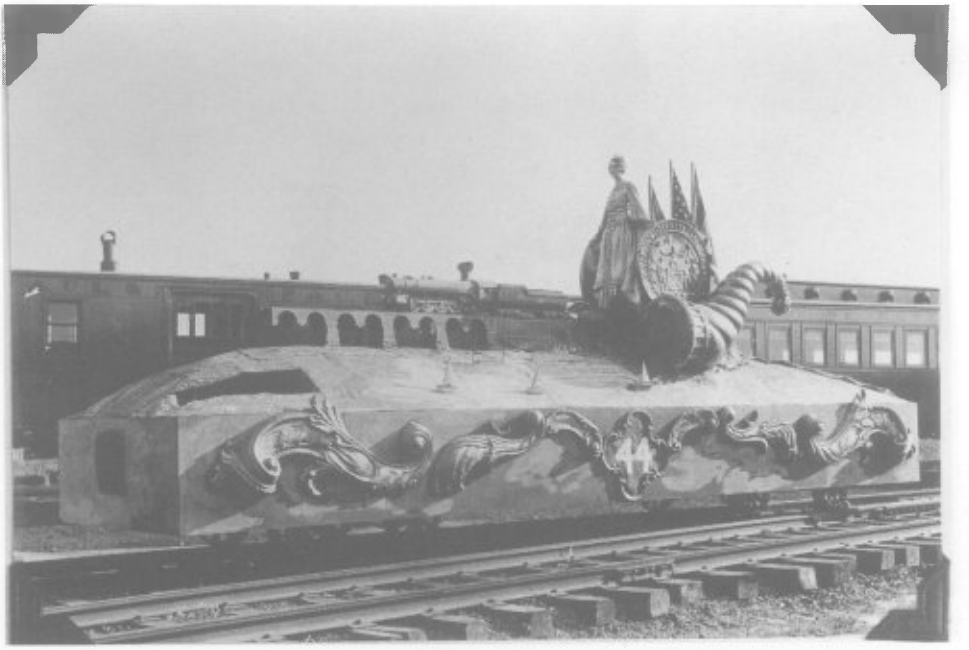
Replica of the "Tom Thumb," first American-built steam locomotive





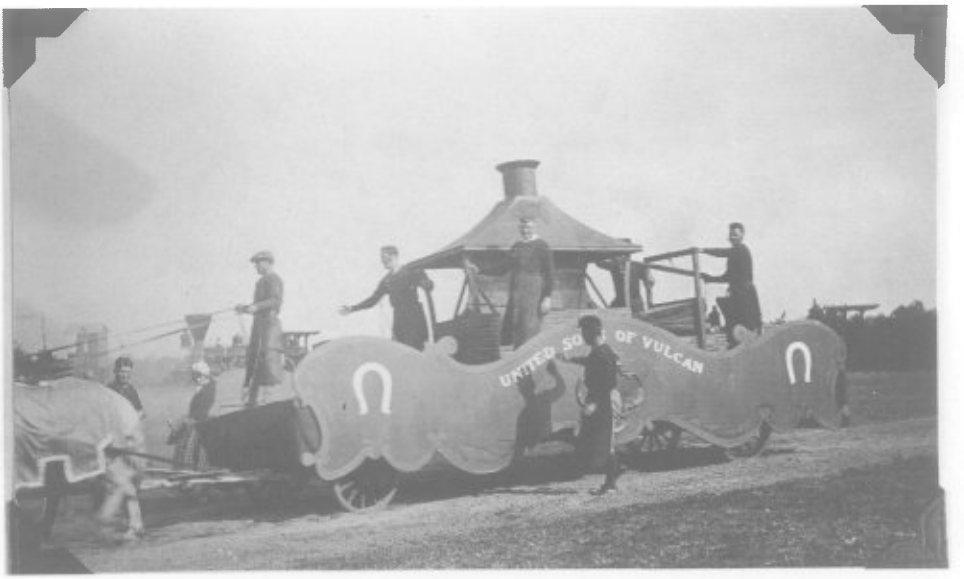
The locomotive "Atlantic," built in 1832

"Satilla," built in 1860



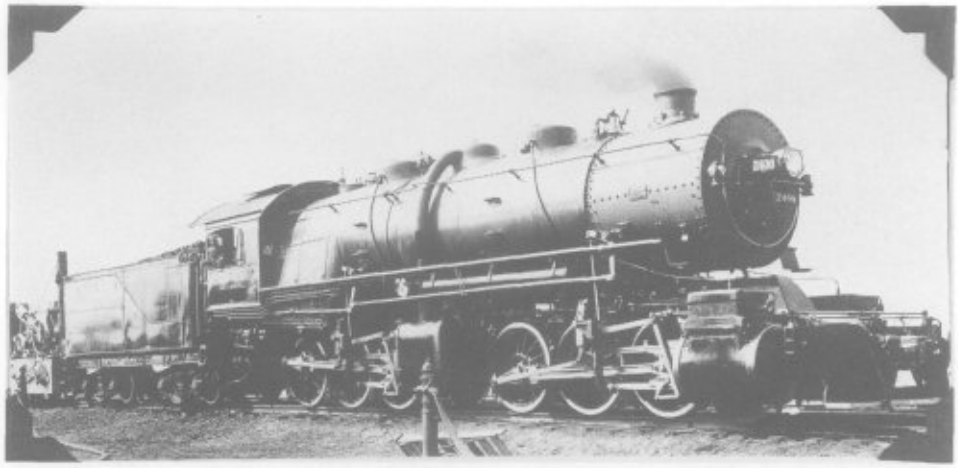
Float representing the State of Maryland

Depiction of B&O tracks being destroyed during the Civil War



The Sons of Vulcan float

Reenactors portraying engineers and firemen of "old-time" engines



Muhlfeld No. 2400, built in 1904

Train-side motor coach, Jersey City to New York

Book Reviews

Founding Mothers & Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society. By Mary Beth Norton. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996. 506 pp. Appendix, notes, index. $35.)

Founding Mothers & Fathers is a comparative study of the founding and early development of New England and the Chesapeake. Mary Beth Norton's analysis rests chiefly on a massive data base of several thousand civil and criminal cases culled from published sources and several jurisdictions, supplemented by an examination of relevant statutes, contemporaneous political treatises, and other evidence. Together, these permit a comprehensive examination of government and social order in the seventeenth century. Briefly stated, Norton's thesis is that though the English settlers of both regions carried with them what she calls a "Filmerian worldview" (6), based on the ideas of Sir Robert Filmer, only the Puritan colonies came close to implementing it fully. Due to demographic, religious, and other factors, the Chesapeake (and to a lesser extent northern New England) colonies developed proto-Lockean practices and institutional arrangements instead.

The book is importantly original in at least three related respects. First, Norton's nuanced discussion of seventeenth-century conceptions of public and private realms of experience produces fresh interpretations of political events, such as the trial and banishment of Anne Hutchinson, that have been revisited by historians time and again. Second, the book contains a superior, and sustained, discussion of the hierarchical and familial worldview informing New England government and social life. Conceiving properly constituted households as the foundation of good political order, the Puritans implemented what Norton calls a "theory of unified power" (403), one which did not fundamentally distinguish between the domains of formal governmental authority and social relations. In this regard, Norton treats the Puritans' legal regulation of marriage, sexuality, and the power of household heads to discipline their dependents not just as a remarkably successful fulfillment of Puritan moral codes, but as the institutional elaboration of a theory of political power. In this, Norton is thoroughly persuasive. Indeed, my only reservation concerns her labeling of this theory or worldview, "Filmerian." Though Norton makes some allowances for competing conceptions of consent, she tends to associate New England's version of hierarchical social and political relations too closely with its absolutist variant, an association the term "Filmerian" reinforces.

Norton also puts gender at the center of seventeenth-century political history. Some of the book's liveliest passages examine episodes in which high-ranking women challenged the political and religious leaders of their era, among them:

Margaret Brent, whose appointment as the Lord Proprietor's Attorney served as the basis for her (ultimately unsuccessful) claim to the right to vote in Maryland's provincial assembly; Anne Eaton, the wife of the New Haven colony's first governor, whose open defiance of magistrates and ministers alike on the question of infant baptism shocked the colony and ultimately led to her excommunication; and Anne Hutchinson herself.

The controversies surrounding such women were, Norton argues, not bizarre anomalies but predictable "flashpoints" (10) in Filmerian societies. Because such societies excluded women from political authority as a consequence of their status as household dependents, not by virtue of their gender per se, that exclusion was imperfect. Women who could command deference because of their family's high social rank, and especially those who as widows or "fictive widows" (164) assumed many of the powers of a family governor, could claim broad cultural and even political authority. Their actions had immediate political relevance in a regime that did not consistently distinguish public and private roles, and in which the household was, in effect, a unit of government. The potentially disruptive power of these elite women was reinforced by the strength of their semi-autonomous social networks taking shape in birthing rooms, religious meetings, and elsewhere in the realm of what Norton calls the "informal public" (20). Norton couples her interpretation of these well-known episodes concerning rebellious women with a systematic analysis of women's legal subordination as wives, daughters, and servants within households, and a comparison of men's and women's participation in neighborhood or community networks. The result is a comprehensive examination of the role of gender in structuring political and social life.

We come, finally, to Norton's comparative analysis. Norton produces ample evidence that authorities in the Chesapeake regulated internal household affairs and even relations among "neighbors" less closely than did New Englanders. But this evidence will not, I think, bear the interpretive weight that Norton gives it. The Filmerian worldview atrophied, she argues, in large part because family life was too unstable in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake to serve as the basis for good government. Legal and political arrangements adumbrated instead a Lockean theory of power, one which firmly separated political from social and domestic authority, and just as firmly associated politics with formal government. Norton further holds that the seventeenth-century Chesapeake anticipated developments that would soon be pervasive in British mainland America. "By the era of the American Revolution," she writes, "the unified world of gendered power had been supplanted by a theory of dichotomous power, by pervasive public/private distinctions, and by a world in which all women were categorically excluded from the public" (405).

This is not entirely persuasive for two reasons. Norton's view that the seventeenth-century Chesapeake was beginning to institutionalize, though in an "inchoate" fashion (4), modern conceptions of state and society depends, as I

have just suggested, on her sense of what will occur in the near future. But she overstates the influence of "Lockean" ideas in the eighteenth century. With the waning of Puritan hegemony in New England and the consolidation of a slave-based political economy in the Chesapeake, the two regions converged in one basic respect: they both displayed a persisting tension between consensual and hierarchical principles. To borrow Norton's terms for the moment, by the early eighteenth century at the latest, New England was more "Lockean," and the Chesapeake more "Filmerian," than Norton's overall interpretation would have it.

Moreover, even were Norton's characterization of the Chesapeake correct, her use of the tag, "Lockean," would have disadvantages. Norton acknowledges that the term is anachronistic, in part because Locke did not fully work out his theory of political consent until the very end of the era under discussion. But my concern lies elsewhere. Associating Locke with the disorderly nature of settlement in the Chesapeake and with a political regime that was by necessity indifferent to the regulation of its subjects' putatively private lives is to modernize unduly Locke himself. The best recent interpretations of Locke in seventeenth-century context view him as deeply committed to a polity and social order based on patronage, deference, and rank. Only later appropriations of Locke's theory of political consent would yoke him to doctrines of laissez-faire or egalitarian political relations among autonomous men. But these are matters of ongoing debate: others may more readily agree with Norton's comparative conclusions. My disagreement does not lessen my appreciation of the magisterial sweep of her synthesis of gender and politics.

Toby L. Ditz
The Johns Hopkins University

Understanding the American Revolution: Issues and Actors. By Jack P. Greene. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995. 413 pages. Index. $68.50; paperback, $24.50.)

The title of this volume is far broader than its contents: sixteen previously published essays that constitute a substantial portion of the author's writings on the American Revolution. As "a colonial historian who looks at the Revolution not as the first step in the creation of an American nation but as an episode in British imperial history" (ix), Greene concentrates on the event's origins and causes, not its unfolding and consequences. Most of the essays were written originally as conference papers or public addresses between 1971 and the bicentennial of independence in 1976. These dates are important, for scholarly attention in the field was then shifting from causation to the enormous consequences of founding the new nation. Although in essays published as late as 1992 Greene acknowledges this shift, most of his writings reflect an

earlier principal theme in the historical literature—the attempt to levy responsibility for the destruction of the first British Empire.

On that subject, Greene faults the British. At least until 1760, he argues, the empire "was held together not by force or by overwhelming coercive powers . . . but by the voluntary attachment of the colonists, an attachment rooted in strong ties of habit, interest, and, more importantly, affection." This fidelity rested upon "implicit expectations" that Britain had a "moral obligation" to allow the colonies the widest possible latitude in economic affairs and also to "respect the sanctity" of institutions of local government (52). Colonial self-definition eventually envisioned some kind of equivalency of power within the empire. It follows, therefore, that Parliament and a series of British ministries upset this allegedly consensual order after 1760—by attempting to reform imperial administration and collect revenue from the colonies, by proclaiming parliamentary supremacy, by seeking to ensure the colonies' subordination lest their growth and vitality result in independence (an unacceptable threat to British national interests), by ignoring Benjamin Franklin and others who advised that sovereign power was best not exercised, and by adopting heavy-handed responses to colonial resistance, especially after the Boston Tea Party in 1773.

In 1987, when Greene summarized what may be his most considered views on "Origins of the American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation," he emphasized ambiguities in the imperial relationship and, as well, the logic of British insistence upon parliamentary supremacy and colonial subordination. He also acknowledged just how radical were American challenges to those concepts. Still, he posited a nebulous and emerging "imperial constitution," composed not of mutually accepted principles but of the increasingly more defined American patriot position. By 1774, he contends (ignoring loyalists, doubters, and the uninformed), few Americans believed that Parliament possessed authority to legislate for the colonies. Two years later the Continental Congress proclaimed Independence.

Few scholars would deny that British policy makers' missteps and inability to conceive of divided sovereignty within the empire led to the very American independence they dreaded. But Greene's Whiggish interpretation allows *some* American and a few British observers to define the constitutional nature of the empire. He often takes their words at face value, without regard to the contexts in which they were uttered, contexts that ranged from principled opposition to opportunistic posturing. Nor does he devote much attention to the conflicting and changing voices with which "the" colonists spoke, nor, with the exception of Virginia, the internal political dynamics that shaped responses to imperial developments. Finally, by ignoring colonial radicals' success at provoking British reactions, then portraying themselves as innocent victims of oppression (a tactic raised to an art form in Boston), Greene comes close, implicitly, to absolving Americans for their part in rending the empire.

The author's publications on the consequences of the Revolution are more eclectic than his writings on its origins. Included in the volume are essays on the formation of national government under the Articles of Confederation, the roles of Franklin, Thomas Paine, and Philip Mazzei in explaining American society and aspirations to Europeans, and the way in which Virginians after 1780 fashioned a "highly positive sense of corporate identity" (338).

In an essay entitled "The Limits of the American Revolution," first published in 1987, Greene assessed its consequences and found them mostly in the reintegration of loyalists into postwar society, development of a national land policy, and adoption of the United States Constitution. Elsewhere, the nation "continued in a state of galling economic dependence upon Britain," the vast majority of African-Americans remained enslaved, "the status of women had improved almost not at all" (364), and individualism and materialism eclipsed dedication to communal or public good, which was deemed essential for the survival of republican self-government. According to Greene this situation reflected the fundamental nature of American society. The war for independence had required unprecedented levels of community and individual support, but after 1783 "leaders simply could not implement any goals that were incompatible with the basically private and highly individualistic predisposition of the society over which they presided" (369).

Greene's is an overly limited interpretation of the consequences of an event that members of the Revolutionary generation saw as a turning point in human history. Beside fashioning a unique system of representative government, they also set in motion a process of social change that has yet to run its course. If slavery was not immediately abolished, Revolutionary ideals of liberty and natural rights, as well as emancipation in northern states, thousands of manumissions in the South, and a resulting rapid growth of free black communities ultimately made slavery untenable in the United States. To contend that women's status scarcely changed overlooks the Revolution's spur to white female literacy and education, the attribution of a new civic role and importance to wives and mothers, and the fact that the genie of egalitarianism, despite subsequent heroic efforts, was never returned to the bottle. To restrict the Revolution's consequences mostly to governmental accomplishments ignores a major postwar development: the voluntary associations and communal efforts—ranging from orphan asylums to antislavery agitation, from temperance to penal reform—through which people tried to improve their society and profoundly influenced public life. Finally, to constrain the consequences of the Revolution to short-term outcomes misses its enormous influence on the nineteenth century and the ways in which its ideals have served as one of the most creative dynamics in American history.

Jean B. Lee
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Fields of Battle: The Wars for North America. By John Keegan. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996. 348 pages. Index, illustrations. $30.00.)

In *Fields of Battle,* the celebrated British military historian John Keegan has written an engaging if somewhat improbable book: a combination memoir, travelogue, and historical commentary. The book features accounts of Keegan's travels in the United States, from his first visit in 1957—a kind of "Rhodes scholarship in reverse," financed by a wealthy American who wished to help Oxford undergraduates experience America at first hand—to the numerous lecture tours, battlefield visits, and meetings with American statesmen that have accompanied his scholarly and literary successes. These memoirs and travel narratives are synthesized with accounts of battles and strategy. In addition, Keegan offers thought-provoking observations on the great significance of geography in the outcome of war.

Keegan is a fervent Americanophile: he makes that clear in the book's first chapter, which ranges from accounts of the pleasures and diversions of travel in the United States to the meaning of American civilization and the role of North American warfare in shaping America's destiny. Subsequent chapters cover visits to battlefield sites that distill the significance of pivotal wars in American history: visits to Quebec (French and Indian War); Yorktown and Virginia's James River peninsula (Revolutionary War); the Virginia Peninsula again (Civil War); and the Little Bighorn battlefield (Indian wars on the Great Plains).

In general, Keegan succeeds in this impressionistic venture. The book is often cogent and wise, and it is generally entertaining. It is also, however, self-indulgent in ways that detract from its overall success.

The pace is uneven in a way that suggests hasty editing. Parts of the travelogue grow tedious with excess detail—others hurry off at such breathtaking speed that Keegan's observations get reckless. When Keegan shares the euphoria—the term is not at all too strong—that he feels on tour in America, his tone is often worthy of Kerouac. But the rapid-fire generalizations that result can be simplistic or self-contradictory. We are told, for example, that "only the Americans have succeeded in creating a society of complete cultural uniformity." We are told that "a timelessness . . . a pervading calm, a curious slowness" is characteristic of the American experience: "Europe, not America, is the continent of fast driving and pedestrian bustle." Later, however, Keegan marvels at the "excitement of America on the move, a traveling nation which travels with energy, despatch, and a multiplicity of ways. . . ." When recounting his experience with air travel in America he revels in the "sunlight—it is always sunny on American domestic flights." Always—except that on a visit to North Carolina, "where I was to take the aeroplane, cloud fogged in the airport, so Air Carolina sent me on to the next airfield."

Such gaffes are harmless, of course, when the issues are mundane—and even when the issues are important, written slips-of-the-tongue afflict us all.

This, for example, must surely account for the following reference by Keegan to General Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate commander at Shiloh: "On the evening of 7 April, Johnston decided to withdraw." Impossible: Johnston was killed in the midst of a charge. It was General P. G. T. Beauregard, who assumed command at Johnston's death, who decided to withdraw.

In other cases, however, the slips are more serious, and Keegan should have asked a few American historians to look over his manuscript. At the end of his section on Yorktown and the Revolutionary War, Keegan states that in the aftermath of victory "the notion that a war might arise between the states themselves was unimaginable." Not so: American political culture in the 1780s was rife with the fear of disunion. Madison, for one, expressed this fear recurrently, and he and Hamilton warned in *The Federalist* that failure to ratify the Constitution might result in interstate conflict.

Hasty generalizations even mar the major thesis of the book: that North American geography was a key determinant of America's cultural destiny. No doubt, but Keegan doesn't leave things there. Geography, he says, was altogether *more* important than the human factors of our history. "The sea and its inlets, the great rivers and their tributaries . . . appear in hindsight more significant altogether as determinants of events than any of the human players who acted out the drama of campaign in the narrow corridors made available by nature for their efforts." But Keegan doesn't really believe this. In the two different "dramas of campaign," for example, enacted in 1862 and 1864 in the very same "narrow corridor" of Virginia—the James River peninsula—the results were utterly different. The geography of course was fundamental, and yet the difference in the human players, in this case the difference in judgment and personal character between Union Generals George B. McClellan and Ulysses S. Grant, made the difference in the outcomes. In truth, Keegan understands this perfectly well. His scathing if understated comments on the phoniness and cravenness of McClellan add another iteration to history's ongoing indictment of that incompetent. Despite these problems, Keegan's book presents a lucid analysis of geographic factors in the histories of both the United States and Canada. Moreover, the battlefield tours contain extraordinary writing. Consider this description by Keegan of some of his impressions while visiting a site from the Seven Days' Battles:

> Beaver Dam Creek is, I think, the most sinister little battlefield I have ever visited. Just to the north, at the top of a Park Service track which drops down to a concreted parking place, State Route 156 crosses the creek on a high modern bridge; it is just too far away for the sounds of the trucks using it to reach the visitor's ear. What I heard was the croaking of swamp birds and what I saw were willows, goldenrod in flower, poplars, and a scattering of those dead, grey, branchless trees standing up from the water in the swamp bottom so distinctive of

> American wetlands. The setting is intensely green and lush, the vegetation so dense that the battlefield, except in a slot to the north where the truck route shows through the trees, is entirely shut off from the outside world. The creek itself, though quite fast-flowing, is almost hidden under sedge and cresses. It may be about ten feet wide; the whole battlefield, from the bank down which the Confederates attacked to the higher bank on which the Union troops, a division of Pennsylvanians, awaited them behind timber stockades, is perhaps 150 yards across. It was a warm, deserted, oddly beautiful bowl of stillness when I saw it on a fine September noon; on the afternoon of 26 June 1862 it must have been a place of sudden horror.

Superb description such as this—and many passages of brilliant analysis—repay the reader of Keegan's *Fields of Battle,* notwithstanding the book's quirky problems.

Richard Striner
Washington College

Illegal Tender, Counterfeiting and the Secret Service in Nineteenth-Century America. By David R. Johnson. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996. 222 pages, illustrations, notes, index. $29.95.)

Divided into a well-prepared and provocative introduction and seven carefully researched chapters, each concentrating upon a major facet of the overall counterfeiting problem, and the attempts by the federal authorities to find solutions to them, David R. Johnson's *Illegal Tender* provides a factual and readable treatise interesting to financial historiographers, general readers, and numismatists alike.

As the author points out, at the outbreak of the Civil War there was no federal paper money in circulation and government was faced with the need for huge amounts of money to support the costs of war. And it was needed fast. Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase's response to the need was his request to Congress for the authority to issue paper notes in payment of government obligations. The congressional response was the passage of the Legal Tender Act of 1862 which, together with the National Banking Act of 1863, made the federal government the sole monetary source, with the concomitant responsibility for assuring its soundness and integrity.

For at least thirty years prior to the Civil War there was plenty of paper money in circulation, to be sure, but the problem was that much of it consisted of the issues of independent banks, some state-chartered and some not, with many of the emissions being inadequately secured. Additionally, many states had inadequate laws and supervisory procedures for the protection of the public.

The situation had been further complicated over the years by the issuance of tremendous amounts of scrip by municipalities, corporations, merchants, so-called "savings institutions," transportation companies, and almost any other entity that one could imagine, simply because specie (hard money) just about disappeared from time to time due to hoarding, exportation, and the refusal of banks and other issuers to redeem their paper issues in coin.

If these problems were not enough, well organized counterfeiting of bank notes was rife. In 1862, the *New York Times* reported that nearly 80 percent of American currency then in circulation was counterfeit. Mr. Johnson is somewhat more conservative, estimating that as much as half of the paper notes then in circulation were counterfeit. The assumption of responsibility by the federal government for a national currency found the counterfeiters perfectly willing to convert their activities to the new medium of exchange, and not without considerable success. The creation of the Secret Service was the government answer to the problem, and it took another thirty years before the virtual elimination of counterfeiting throughout the nation came to pass. Mr. Johnson gives us an amazing amount of detail in this excellent book. It is highly recommended.

Denwood N. Kelly
Baltimore

In Defense of Marion: The Love of Marion Bloom and H. L. Mencken. Letters and comments edited by Edward A. Martin. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996. 398 pages. Notes, index, photographs. $65.00.)

The Mencken industry has struck again. As soon as the aficionados of the Sage feel that all that can be said or written indeed has been, then along comes another bit of Mencken lore.

Edward A. (Sandy) Martin, professor of English at Middlebury College, returns to the Mencken field after an absence of twelve years. His *H. L. Mencken and the Debunkers,* an incisive study of Mencken as satirist, was published in 1984 by the University of Georgia Press. His *In Defense of Marion* follows three other recent Mencken publications: Fred Hobson's biography, *Mencken: A Life, Thirty-Five Years of Newspaper Work* edited by an erudite trio—Hobson, Vincent Fitzpatrick, and Bradford Jacobs; and *My Life as Author and Editor,* edited by Jonathan Yardley.

In Defense of Marion is not a book only about Mencken. He is a principal but not the primary actor. This is a book about Marion Bloom and her relationship with Mencken. She was his mistress and constant companion from 1914 to 1920. It is also about the Bloom family, including Marion's sister Estelle and her relationship with the novelist Theodore Dreiser. Finally, it is a volume about the American literary scene from 1914 to 1930.

Dr. Martin has come up with something new. Delving into the vast resources of the Enoch Pratt Free Library's Mencken Collection, he makes use of the letters HLM wrote to Marion Bloom. She sold these to the library in 1968. This correspondence has been touched on by other writers—Hobson and Marion Rodgers, for example—but not with the depth offered here.

Martin uses also the cache of Mencken material at the New York Public Library, where copies of Marion's letters to HLM were deposited, with Mencken's approval, by her sister Estelle. He has traveled to New Windsor, Maryland, to interview the descendants of Marion Bloom. There he found in family albums many of the distinctive photographs that grace *In Defense of Marion.* He reconstructs the bucolic life of this small, isolated town as well as the early life and final years of Marion Bloom.

Mencken lovers and students will stop and digest HLM's letter to Marion on her announcement of her coming marriage to Lou Maritzer in 1923. For the first time in all his writings (except for musings in his diaries), we find a note of regret and unhappiness; in the letter to Estelle that follows, Gloom.

This book offers more than letters. Marion provides a striking description of life on a troop ship in 1918. (This was appreciated by this reviewer, who had a similar experience as an enlisted man in 1942.) Quotations from her journal about army hospitals in France (she had great concern for the soldiers) and her account of the great influenza epidemic offer excellent and informative prose. Other Bloom material that Martin draws on toward the end of this volume—from the time when she was living in Paris while getting a divorce from Maritzer—is good history. It is easy to see why Mencken thought she could be a good writer.

Any doubter of Mencken's feelings for Marion needs only to read the letters from the time when Marion enlisted in the Army Nursing Corps, prepared for overseas duty, and went abroad. Mencken kept his loves very private. Seldom did he in any letter to any "lady love" show any emotion or feeling or use any term of endearment. Only twice in existing letters do sincere feelings emerge: to Sara Haardt, beginning in 1929 (they became formally engaged the following year), and to Marion, almost from their first meeting in 1914 and to 1920. The romance with Marion ended, not because Mencken found another woman, but primarily because Marion took up Christian Science. This was one of Mencken's bêtes noires. Years later, he took great delight in naming one of his pet turtles at 1524 Hollins Street "Mary Baker Eddy."

It has been wondered for lo these many years which female inspired Mencken to write what he called "the woman book" (*In Defense of Women*). In the manuscript of *My Life as Author and Editor,* Mencken tells of "lying in bed with a lady so homely and devoid of feminine charm" that he was "without any carnal feelings." According to him, they lay in bed and discussed sex and sexual feelings in all their varied aspects. So we have thought that this homely woman was the inspiration for *In Defense.* Not so. Dr. Martin has cleverly

proved this by quoting from *In Defense* and *The Smart Set* as well as appropriate places in the Mencken-Bloom correspondence. Mencken told Marion, "I think I'll send you the woman book tomorrow. Complain as you will." (214). *In Defense of Women* was first published by Philip Goodman in 1918. Prior to that time, Mencken's only constant female companion was Marion Bloom. So it is to her credit that we have this important and enjoyable volume which has been translated into a number of languages and remains in print to this day. Mencken's commentary, as he details the bumpy passage of men and women through this vale of sorrow, continues to delight some and outrage others. Thank you, Marion, and thank you, Dr. (Watson) Martin for the truth at last.

In Defense of Marion is well worth reading and owning—not only by Menckenites but also by anyone interested in the characters who made up the American literary scene in the first half of this century. This well-edited volume is filled with remarkable reminiscences. And fear not, it's not the end of Mencken. We have biographies by Terry Teachout and Marion Rodgers to come, as well as a batch of unpublished letters to another lady. John Dorsey of the *Baltimore Sun* has a book in progress. The Mencken industry will not stop.

ARTHUR J. GUTMAN
Baltimore

The Emerging Midwest: Upland Southerners and the Political Culture of the Old Northwest, 1787–1861. By Nicole Etcheson. Midwestern History and Culture series. James H. Madison and Thomas J. Schlereth, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996. 218 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

Historians of the Midwest have long been fascinated by the amalgamation of northern and southern peoples in this region. Given their mutual antagonisms, how did they manage to forge a new regional identity that came to be viewed as the very quintessence of America? Upland southerners wishing to remove themselves from the primary determinants of southern culture, slavery and the planter elite, joined settlers from other sections in the Midwest and eventually all began to view themselves as westerners. Yet the sectional crisis of the 1850s reawakened the upland southern midwesterners' identification with the South so that the saga of their melding virtually crackles at this point with the excitement of ideologies in conflict.

The bulk of the southern immigrants to the Old Northwest were from Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The census of 1850, the first to list places of birth, reveals that 17.6, 16.8, and 7.4 percent of the populations of Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio respectively were born in the South. But these figures are deceptively small because midwesterners counted as born in one of the three states were often children or grandchildren of earlier southern settlers in the region.

Etcheson, who teaches history at the University of South Dakota, uses both

"persuasive" documents such as editorials and speeches, and "descriptive" documents such as letters and the accounts of travelers for her testimonial evidence. Among the upland southern midwesterners whose words Etcheson draws upon to flesh out her profile are abolitionists James G. Birney (born in Kentucky) and Levi Coffin (born in North Carolina), Ohio governor Thomas Worthington (born in Virginia), Indiana legislator and land speculator John Tipton (born in Tennesee), Illinois governor Ninian Edwards (born, according to Etcheson, in Virginia) and presidents William Henry Harrison (born in Virginia) and Abraham Lincoln (born in Kentucky).

Although no single figure quoted and identified by Etcheson hails from Maryland, Ninian Edwards was born, according to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, not in Virginia but in Montgomery County, Maryland. Other references to Maryland, such as the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and the National Road, which in Indiana was believed to mark the boundary between North and South, are made only in passing.

Many midwestern politicians publicly praised the heroic upland southern settlers who had done so much to tame their wild land during the Indian wars. But contemporary accounts of the backcountry southerners who migrated to the Midwest also stress their indifference to self-improvement. Whether this was due to lack of access to markets, to the demoralizing effects of plantation slavery on nonslaveholders, or to their putative Celtic ethnic heritage, the southern backwoodsman had both an enviable reputation for heroism and an unenviable one for sloth. As much as many southern settlers in the Midwest abhorred slavery and the degrading effect it had on white labor in the South, they abhorred the slaves themselves even more. Although only 1 percent of the population in the three states was black, all three states had formal or informal restrictions limiting their blacks' rights and debated provisions to exclude free blacks from entering their states. Abraham Lincoln was among the few upland southerners willing to defend the rights of blacks, and he did so at great political risk.

Fearful that a federal oligarchy would wrest their sovereignty from them, upland southern midwesterners spurned the paternalism of national officials in favor of local control. Neither temperance nor enforced public schooling was popular in the least industrialized parts of the midwestern states, because they were perceived as Yankee movements. New Englanders, who though few in number were a formidable cultural presence in the Midwest, wanted their government to foster upward mobility, while southerners tended to see upward mobility as a kind of trampling upon the rights of others. Yet Abraham Lincoln, who liked to tell voters in the southern half of his state that he was a Kentuckian, not only cited himself as an example of upward mobility but even took to task his stepbrother, a more stereotypical southerner, for not having raised himself up.

Academic social histories such as this one that amass quotations from primary sources can be repetitive, and Etcheson's work could have been edited

more rigorously. She is generally thorough in identifying the southern provenance of the statesmen and diarists she quotes, but a glossary of the major figures cited would have been helpful. The inspiring and well known example of the young Virginian Edward Coles, who despite the advice of his friend Thomas Jefferson took his slaves to Illinois to free them and later became governor of that state, is unfortunately overlooked by the author. One final criticism is that although Abraham Lincoln, whom an Iowa newspaper editor dubbed "a southern man with northern principles" is recurringly cited in Etcheson's study, the question of just how typical Lincoln was of the upland southerners whence he came remains unresolved.

But all in all the often tumultuous saga of how upland southerners in the Midwest coexisted and eventually melded with settlers from other regions is instructive for all Americans seeking reasons for why things are as they are and sheds light on the specific origins of the Midwest, the meaning of the South for those who left it, and on the country's potential to overcome sectional and ideological differences.

Jack Shreve
Allegany College of Maryland

Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries. By Robert S. Grumet. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. 544 pages. Maps, sidebars, illustrations, bibliography. $47.50.)

The field of Native American history has received greater attention from scholars during the last quarter-century than during any previous period, to which a glance at library shelves will attest. Historians and anthropologists, in particular, have utilized the tools and methodologies of their respective disciplines to analyze issues arising out of European contact with indigenous peoples. Anthropologists increasingly use written accounts to document their archeological findings, and historians increasingly borrow theoretical frameworks and emphasis on cultural insights from anthropologists to explain events and processes. Nevertheless, despite attempts to meld the two disciplines into a cooperative venture under the rubric of ethnohistory, scholars still tend to employ analytical frameworks almost entirely derived from within their own academic professions. While the hybrid discipline of ethnohistory has produced a substantial outpouring of monographs examining particular Indian peoples or aspects of contact, few works by professionals reach the larger reading audience. Books that are introductory-level, scholarly, and reflective of the latest trends in history and anthropology are sorely needed to expose non-specialists to Native American history.

Anthropologist Robert S. Grumet's *Historic Contact* begins to fill this gap. This book is the first in the series *Contributions to Public Archeology* from the

University of Oklahoma Press. Grumet steps beyond the confines of archeology to present a work from which historians, anthropologists, interested lay readers, historic preservationists, and Indian peoples will gain information and insight into the repercussions of intercultural contact. Grumet's Rutgers dissertation (1978) and numerous articles emphasize the contact experiences of northeastern Indians from archeological and historical perspectives, making him uniquely qualified to produce *Historic Contact*. In addition, this work is an abridgment of a National Park Service National Historic Landmark theme study Grumet produced in 1992.

Grumet divides the northeastern United States into three regions; North Atlantic, including Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and eastern New York; Middle Atlantic, covering eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and West Virginia; and Trans-Appalachian, consisting of central and western New York and Pennsylvania. Grumet is quick to stress that these three regions, though convenient for organizational purposes, are somewhat arbitrary as peoples and beliefs persistently crossed boundaries. Peoples examined include Abenakis, Narragansetts, Munsees, Delawares, Nanticokes, Piscataways, Powhatans, Iroquois, Susquehannas, Dutch, French, and Anglos, among others.

Grumet abstracts the works of other scholars in his brief narratives of specific Indian and European groups, but the scope is immense. Major events, people, and places important to early intercultural contact are highlighted over three centuries. Artifacts are discussed to shed light on Indian cultural patterns and societal structure. Clear and detailed maps showing modern boundaries and general locations of archeological sites (nearly eight hundred in all) accompany each discussion. Sidebars indicate National Historic Landmark sites, such as Saint Mary's City, Maryland, that played important roles in European colonization, indigenous survival, and intercultural relations. Additionally, numerous photographs and diagrams of artifacts visibly portray Indian manufactures and adaptation of European-derived materials. Finally, an extensive bibliography is included that permits the reader to pursue examined topics in more depth.

Perhaps the greatest value of *Historic Contact* lies in Grumet's insistence on a common sense approach to studying Native American history in the post-contact period. The forty-nine-page introduction presents an up-to-date overview of current terminology and techniques used by scholars. In the best ethnohistorical manner, Grumet stresses that Indian peoples must be understood as participants in their own history, that Indian individuals and groups experienced contact in diverse ways, and that outcomes were not inevitable. Adoption of European technology does not mean that Indians abandoned their culture or experienced "social revolution" (10). Instead, technological dependence was a gradual process that preceded cultural dependence. Grumet reminds us that descendants of the Indian groups he discusses are alive today, and many have retained knowledge of pre-contact belief systems.

The field of ethnohistory needs more books like *Historic Contact*. Works such as this can reach out to a broad audience without sacrificing academic integrity. Although meant primarily as a survey of archeological research, this work provides much more to the non-specialist. Undergraduate courses considering historic preservation or Native Americans in the East or the colonial period can benefit from this work. My only suggestion is that future editions provide a glossary of terms for the archaeologically uninitiated. I also look forward to future additions to this series covering other areas and peoples.

GREG O'BRIEN
University of Kentucky

Dividing the Land: Early American Beginnings of Our Private Property Mosaic. By Edward T. Price. University of Chicago Geography Research Paper no. 238. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995. 410 pages. Index. Paper $26.00.)

Dividing the Land: Early American Beginnings of Our Private Property Mosaic is a summation of the professional life work of Edward T. Price, a professor emeritus in the geography department at the University of Oregon. His study concerns the initial land subdivision in the twenty American colonies, and states that were surveyed by European settlers rather than by the rectangular surveys of the U.S. Land Office, which laid out the greater part of the United States. The surveyed states are the original thirteen colonies, and Maine, Vermont, Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Texas.

The 410-page book is filled with facts, but short on narrative. Consider, for example, the following description of Howard County, Maryland:

> Howard county . . . exhibits the greatest irregularity of property shapes encountered in this entire study, parts of it more befitting the scheme of a jigsaw puzzle than of surveying landownership. The outlandish shapes occur in most parts of the county. . . . Characteristic land parcels . . . are bounded by a large number of short courses, totaling more than a hundred in extreme cases. Edges of parcels often zigzag, with many reentrants. Some of these polygons are compact in shape, but others are formed of tentacles reaching out in three or more directions, or making great winding S-shapes winding around three or more properties (144–145).

When it comes time to explain this peculiar contortion of boundaries all Price has to offer is a call for "deeper inquiry into the surveyor's art in eighteenth-century Maryland" (149).

Price's factual fodder is food for thought, however. I found myself creating my own historical arguments explaining the distinctiveness of the Maryland settlement.

The promoters in all of the original thirteen colonies were intent on building communities in the New World. Sometimes the motivation was religious, such as the efforts to create sectarian enclaves (e.g., Plymouth for the Pilgrims, Massachusetts Bay for the Puritans, Pennsylvania for the Quakers), and sometimes it was philanthropic, such as the Georgia effort to give a new start to the deserving poor, but it was always economic. The promoters counted on taking their profit by sharing in the products of the colonies (35–48, 103, 257–258).

Town planning was part of their original promotion. Ports and market towns were sited, building lots were laid out, and public open spaces established. The trading companies, corporate owners, and private proprietors all counted on a concession in the income which the new enterprise would produce. John W. Reps has pointed out that Charles Calvert had a double stake in the creation of ports. As the proprietor of Maryland he owned all vacant land, and the development of ports would increase the value of his waterfront property. As the Lord Baltimore, he was the sovereign of the palatinate of Maryland, and by mandating the transshipment of tobacco between plantations and the ports, he could better collect his export fees. With the accession of William and Mary, civil authority in Maryland was taken over by a royal governor. In 1683 the status of Lord Baltimore was reduced to that of landlord without legislative authority or taxing power. (See Reps, *Tidewater Town: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* [Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972], 92–116.)

Lord Baltimore sold parcels of whatever size to all takers, of whatever Christian faith, on a first come, first served basis. Some were great estates—in 1711 co-religionist Charles Carroll was granted the 7,000-acre Doughoregan Manor, for example—but most were in the one-hundred-acre range. The few strings attached (that parcels be as regular and as square as possible) were honored in the breach. After 1683 the Calverts sold their land for "no money down" to purchasers who agreed to a quit rent to be paid annually, in perpetuity. Colonial Maryland (as described by John Kilty in 1806) became "nothing but a great land market" (106, 110, 133–136, 149).

The Calverts retained approximately thirty Maryland manors for themselves in the anticipation that the land would increase in value, but apart from this speculation they engaged in no active promotions. They sold their land and collected their rents. They took no interest in building communities. Passive investment not economic development was their game (133–136).

Maryland's royal governor became the promoter of town development. On instructions from the crown, he urged the General Assembly to create eight new towns. The town acts were to specify the procedure for acquiring land and laying out streets, lots, and public sites. Town commissioners were to be given limited powers of home rule and a monopoly franchise since all imports and exports were to be channeled through a designated port.

Between 1706 and 1708 the legislature over-reacted with the creation of

fifty-two new towns. But this wholesale town founding had little effect. The towns were never established except for a few with particularly advantageous sites, e.g., Annapolis, Baltimore, Snow Hill, Cambridge, Oxford, and Chestertown. Too many ports had been designated for the franchises to be of any real value. Shippers, planters, and merchants looked to evade tariffs by dealing directly from the private dock. And Lord Baltimore, divested of his sovereignty, had lost interest in the development of new towns.

History judges the Calverts' land marketing strategy a success. By the time of the American Revolution, Maryland was among the most settled territories in the New World. While all of the other original trading companies and proprietors had long since been displaced or replaced by the crown, the Calverts were still operating their land office and still collecting their rent. Following the Revolution, their lands were confiscated and their rents were abolished (105, 136).

Out of this rumination concerning Maryland's original settlement comes insight into its governance, yet today. When compared with other states Maryland has strikingly few units of local government and little home rule. It has no township governments and most of its one hundred and fifty-odd municipalities, with the exception of Baltimore City, are subject to the governmental jurisdiction of one of Maryland's twenty-three counties. In 1962 it ranked forty-fourth among all states in the number of local units. (See Jean E. Spencer, *Contemporary Local Government in Maryland* [College Park: University of Maryland, 1962], 3.)

After 1683, when their property was separated from sovereignty, the Calverts lost the power and much of the incentive to ordain new towns. Without a strong-willed, self-interested advocate, few towns were established, and without towns, few home rule powers were delegated to the local level. Hence, the high degree of centralization of governmental authority in Maryland may be explained, in part, as a legacy of the Calverts' original land division strategy.

The focus of Edward T. Price's book is on how European settlers first divided the land of the New World. He writes in detail about cadastral maps and polygons, about headrights and longlots, about metes and bounds and quit rents. But historians, economists, and political scientists can find meaning in his minutiae. The original patterns of land division in America affect the shape of the landscape and the structure of government today.

GARRETT POWER
University of Maryland, School of Law

A Planters' Republic: The Search for Economic Independence in Revolutionary Virginia. By Bruce A. Ragsdale. (Madison: Madison House Publishers, 1996. 319 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. $34.95.)

A Planters' Republic is a detailed study of Virginians' attempt to achieve economic independence from Great Britain through the use of commercial resistance to imperial policies. The author shows that political and economic objectives were intertwined and that the struggle for economic independence went hand in glove with the struggle for political independence. Ragsdale clearly demonstrates that commercial relations with Great Britain were central to the Revolutionary conflict.

Before describing the various nonimportation, nonconsumption, nonexportation agreements of the 1760s and 1770s, Ragsdale maps out the contours of the tobacco economy. His analysis will be extremely familiar to students of the period since he draws on the work of such well-known scholars as T. H. Breen, Allan Kulikoff, John McCusker, Rhys Isaac, and Jacob Price. Virginians' devotion to a staple economy and the restrictive nature of the Navigation Acts combined to create an unhealthy (in the minds of many gentry planters) dependence upon Great Britain. British merchants' liberal extension of credit and planters' avid desire for consumer goods brought most Virginians into debt. Increased commercialization, especially due to the expansion of Scottish merchant houses' activity in the mid-1700s, limited gentry influence over the tobacco trade. Only a restructuring of Virginia's political economy could free planters from debt and dependence.

The Stamp Act crisis gave Virginians their first opportunity to use commercial resistance as a means to force Parliament to repeal offensive legislation. That resistance, in the form of a voluntary nonimportation agreement, also gave planters the excuse to diversify their estates and attempt to promote domestic manufactures. These measures were seen as the way to break the cycle of dependence upon British merchants.

Having met with success in opposing the Stamp Act, prominent Virginians thought commercial resistance also would force Parliament to repeal the Townshend Acts, the Tea Act, and the Coercive Acts. Ragsdale details the workings of the commercial associations of 1769, 1770, and 1774. Commercial resistance in 1769 and 1770 was unsuccessful because of a lack of popular support for the associations. Merchants' connections to small and middling planters undermined the gentry's example. There was simply no substitute for the credit and commodities that British merchants supplied as long as Virginia's economy was based solely on tobacco. The credit collapse of 1772, however, and subsequent parliamentary attempts to raise revenue in the colonies, united yeomen and gentry in resistance to Great Britain. Virginia's association of August 1774 became the model for the association that the First Continental Congress adopted on October 20, 1774.

This reviewer found Ragsdale's chapter on Virginia and the Continental Association of particular interest since she wrote her master's thesis on Virginia's county committees of safety, the bodies that enforced the association. Although it is unlikely that a fellow scholar would neglect to cite a source, some of Ragsdale's language in this chapter sounds disturbingly familiar. Perhaps the similarities stem from the use in several instances of the identical examples.

The Continental Association was an economic boycott designed to force Parliament to repeal the Coercive Acts, a series of measures intended to punish recalcitrant New Englanders for flouting British authority. The Virginia committees were extremely effective in ensuring compliance with the association but ineffective in transforming the economy. In the transition from colony to state, the committees became the organs of local government. Preserving order and raising troops took precedence over promoting agricultural diversification and domestic manufactures. After the Revolution, although Virginia had achieved political independence, tobacco still dictated the terms of trade. Once again, Virginians found themselves depending on merchants from outside the state—now not only from Great Britain but from Philadelphia as well. Debate within the state over commercial regulations ultimately led to Virginia's agreement to send delegates to the Annapolis Convention of 1786. The inability of Virginia to diversify its agricultural base, produce consumer goods, and create urban commercial centers hindered its economic independence.

One of the most interesting sections of *A Planters' Republic* is the chapter on the slave trade and economic development. Virginians repeatedly attempted to restrict the slave trade in an effort to achieve economic independence from Great Britain. At the same time, slavery restricted the planters' options for diversification. Ragsdale notes that "the argument against the slave trade remained essentially one of political economy, and the campaign to restrict slave imports paralleled commercial resistance and the broader search for economic independence" (122).

Ragsdale's detailed examination of Virginia's commercial resistance to imperial policies and how that resistance was used to promote economic independence is interesting. It is a well-written synthesis demonstrating the close connection between political and economic independence in eighteenth-century Virginia. Jefferson's "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is after all derived from Locke's "life, liberty, and the pursuit of property."

Jennifer Bryan
Maryland Historical Society

All of this Music Belongs to the Nation: The WPA's Federal Music Project and American Society, 1935–1939. By Kenneth J. Bindas (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. 188 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $24.00.)

The subtitle of this volume rings like the title of a doctoral thesis, and the book reads like one too. The author, an assistant professor of history at Kent State University–Trumbull, presents an admirable, scholarly survey of a New Deal relief program that employed musicians and sponsored musical performances some sixty years ago. Virtually none of his references mention Maryland's participation in the program, so the book has limited appeal for either the general reader or the local specialist.

Anyone interested in his subject matter will find Mr. Bindas' extensively documented research a useful guide for further exploration. The book's twenty-four pages of notes and its fifteen-page bibliography—which includes archives, dissertations, government publications, books and articles—may constitute the most comprehensive look at the Federal Music Project since congressional watchdogs reviewed its annual funding in the late 1930s.

Maryland's almost total exclusion from this survey raises interesting questions about the paucity of this region's written musical history. The archives of the Maryland Historical Society contain printed programs of FMP concerts, and the Archives of the Peabody Institute store scrapbooks of clippings describing FMP events. However, no one has done anything with this material. There are no good histories of the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra or the Peabody Conservatory of Music. Maryland's role in jazz and popular music, particularly in the African-American communities, has never been explored beyond a few unpublished graduate theses. Fortunately, a new book on Maryland music by Elizabeth Schaaf and David Hildebrand, currently in progress at the Johns Hopkins University Press, promises to fill this long-neglected hole in the state's history.

Bindas argues that although the FMP shared popular prejudices, including biases against "untrained" musicians, it nonetheless offered new opportunities for African-Americans, women and other socially excluded groups. "More than a music project, the FMP sought to unify Americans through patriotic rhetoric and festivals, through its support of American composers and conductors, by showing musicians who worked hard to earn their relief money, and by trying to prove not only the FMP's community worth but also the value of democracy and the American Dream" (115). Nikolai Sokoloff, the FMP director, and his staff sought to inculcate their middle-class values, Bindas writes, by encouraging "cultivated" music that they hoped would uplift and educate audiences to a standard higher than "vernacular" music.

"What did the FMP accomplish during its federal years?" he asks. "From October 1935 to August 1939, project musical organizations gave 224,698 per-

formances before 148,159,699 American citizens. During this time, over 6,772 American compositions were played, with over 60 percent coming from contemporary composers" (108). Bindas concludes that the FMP shared the ironies and paradoxes of the thirties. Attempting to be pluralistic, the project restricted its definition of good music; holding the individual musician in high esteem, it rewarded conformity. Such contradictions continue in America's public support of the arts.

Earl Arnett
Baltimore

Creating the National Pastime: Baseball Transforms Itself, 1903–1953. By G. Edward White. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996. 384 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. $24.95.)

Baseball's other name, "the national pastime," is all the greater a slogan for having arisen demotically, in the 1800s, with no advertising agency in the background. G. Edward White, whose new book limits its purview to the major leagues, finds that pastime most truly national in the first half of the present-ent century. For all the changes ever at work in American technology and culture, and despite the rigidity of the majors' franchise membership, in that period baseball indeed held the devotion of the masses.

White—a professor of law and history at the University of Virginia, which is a state with no major league franchise then or since in any of the main professional team sports—writes with detachment and precision. If he relies mostly on published sources, let us acknowledge the immensity by now of the specialist writings on baseball history.

Among the underpinnings of baseball primacy, White picks out such themes as ballpark construction (the change from wood to concrete and steel), the commissioner system (to avoid the collisions among individual ego-driven owners that obstruct all collective action), the exclusion of African Americans except as ticket-buyers, ethnicity otherwise, night games, and print and broadcast coverage. He smiles at the owners' success in spite of themselves—men of greed not vision who dragged their feet on one adaptation after another: night games, broadcast coverage, black inclusion, parking lots. He looks into the period's lone attempt at a third league in opposition to the American and National—the Federal League of 1914–1915, a founder of which was the Baltimore Terrapins.

The Federal League's collapse set off a protracted anti-trust suit, with the Terrapins as principal plaintiff and Organized Baseball (the majors and almost all minor leagues, signatories to a recurrent National Agreement) as defendant. In 1922, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., for a unanimous Supreme Court, overruled a lower court's triple-damage award; he patted Organized Baseball

on the back, calling it simply a local activity. The underlying monopoly—in the hiring of talented players, as enforced by the reserve system and by blacklisting—was ignored. That court decision was and is the basis for baseball's exemption from the several acts of Congress outlawing monopolies in restraint of interstate trade or commerce.

White writes well, and his analysis of Federal Baseball Club of Baltimore *v.* National League of Professional Baseball Clubs, et al. is far the clearest and best yet. (It gains from White's 1993 work, "Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes: Law and the Inner Self.") Holmes's finding was "strikingly out of touch with its subject matter"; far beyond Baltimore, his famous decision stands out as irrational, unjust, wrong. Yet, such is the breadth of White's understanding, Holmes's conclusions must also be seen as consonant with "the jurisprudential and economic assumptions of the time."

The least satisfactory of White's surveys is that of the late Negro Leagues. He frowns at the backing for many a franchise—from numbers (or policy) operators—but historians do not find that the fix was on in Negro League baseball. Baltimore's Black Sox (1916–1934), who go unmentioned, had black stockings, not reputations. As for White's statement that for years only Kansas City in the Negro Leagues had white ownership, the late Charles Spedden and George Rossiter, owners of the Black Sox, would have disagreed. In another detail, Don Newcombe played for the Newark Eagles, not the (1938–1950) Baltimore Elite Giants.

Since 1953 the whole entertainment scene has transformed itself, nationally. A plenitude of profit-seeking spectator enjoyments now contends for dominance. (An ironic exception, that post-1953 Baltimore has seen a time warp, with the Baltimore Orioles recently assuming to a degree the honor of regional pastime.) Author and many a reader share a large doubt: is baseball really capable of yet another transformation, of a return to the glory gone by?

G. Edward White himself is gloomy. An envoi, "The Decline of the National Pastime," invokes Jacques Barzun of Columbia University and his ringing admonition, "Whoever wants to know the heart and mind of America had better learn baseball"—but in context. The full passage, held up to the light, indeed reveals exaggerations. Let us then remind the ivied dons that historian and seer are separate talents and occupations. As for baseball—relax and enjoy.

James H. Bready
Baltimore

Books in Brief

Serialized in 1932 and 1933 in the *Baltimore Afro-American* newspaper, the essays of Mary White Ovington are now available in book form for the first time in *Black and White Sat Down Together: The Reminiscences of an NAACP Founder.* The author, who began her public career as a white settlement house worker, became aware of racial discrimination after meeting Booker T. Washington and proceeded to dedicate her life to equal rights and integration on all levels. Her reminiscences, edited by Ralph E. Luker, tell of Ovington's work with activists such as W. E. B. DuBois and Oswald Garrison Villard in founding and developing the NAACP.

The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, $19.95

Author and photographer Robert de Gast has sailed the waters of the Chesapeake many times over the years. In *Five Fair Rivers: Sailing the James, York, Rappahannock, and Patuxent,* this devoted sailor invites readers to join him in his journeys up these tidal rivers of the Chesapeake. While retracing the paths taken by Captain John Smith in the seventeenth century, the author comments on the changing lands and waters around him.

Johns Hopkins University Press, $19.95

Talking Tidewater: Writers on the Chesapeake, edited by Richard Harwood, brings together fifteen exemplary essays about the Chesapeake region. The nine contributors explore the influence of this environment upon their growth and work, the cultural variety of the Chesapeake, and the complex ecological challenges faced by those who cherish this region. Essayists include Jonathan Yardley, Tom Horton, John Barth, and Robert Day. Most essays have appeared individually in regional periodicals.

Literary House Press at Washington College, $14.95

In *Slavery and Freedom in Delaware, 1639–1865,* William H. Williams provides an exhaustive study of slavery in this state, filling a gap in the study of slavery in antebellum America. The author's examination stretches from the introduction of the slave trade into colonial Delaware through this state's role in the Civil War. An appendix covering the years 1790 to 1860 lists Delaware's populations of free blacks, slaves, and whites.

SR Books (Imprint of Scholarly Resources), $50.00

The University of Wisconsin Press is pleased to announce the release of *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South* in paperback. Author Michael Tadman utilizes previously untapped manuscript

sources to explore the involvement of all levels of white society in the slave trade across the antebellum South. His study includes an examination of the role of Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware in exporting slaves to other states. This edition's introduction advances a new thesis of master-slave relationships.

University of Wisconsin Press, $17.95

Civil War scholars and enthusiasts will be delighted that both small and large presses continue to publish works on innumerable topics relating to this war. The following selection includes studies of people and events that shaped the Civil War as well as memoirs, documentary projects, and even collections of songs and trivia.

Volume 3 of *The Salmon P. Chase Papers,* containing Chase's correspondence from 1858 to March 1863, follows his path from Ohio, where he was governor, to Abraham Lincoln's cabinet, where he served as secretary of the treasury. Readers will find in his correspondence with public figures such as Benjamin F. Butler and William Cullen Bryant a record of the nation's descent into war.

Kent State University Press, $45.00

Memoirs of Service Afloat During the War Between the States by Admiral Raphael Semmes, CSN, was first published in 1869. This edition contains a new introduction and notes by John M. Taylor as well as an index to the work.

Louisiana State University Press, $19.95

In *Escape from Libby Prison,* James Gindlesperger tells the harrowing tale of the more than one hundred Union officers who escaped from this Virginia prison.

Burd Street Press, $24.95

Author Larry M. Logue studies the experiences of soldiers of both the North and South in *To Appomattox and Beyond: The Civil War Soldier in War and Peace.* This social history offers analysis of soldiers' lives both during and after the Civil War.

Ivan R. Dee, Inc., $22.50

Compiled by Walbrook Swank, *Ballads of the North and South in the Civil War* provides in one slim volume the lyrics to almost one hundred songs reflecting the thoughts, fears, and experiences of those who faced this tumultuous period in our nation's history.

Burd Street Press, $12.00

A Mennonite Journal, 1862–1865: A Father's Account of the Civil War in the Shenandoah Valley, edited by John R. Hildebrand, is the story of Civil War home-front life as recorded by Jacob R. Hildebrand of Augusta County, Virginia.

Burd Street Press, $9.95

Put the Vermonters Ahead, by George W. Parsons, is a spare but concise history of the 1st Vermont Brigade, whose elements fought from 1st Bull Run to Petersburg, sustaining, the author claims, the heaviest casualties of any brigade in the war.

White Mane Publishing Company, Inc., $24.95

The Civil War memoirs of Doctor William W. Potter, who worked with both the 49th New York and the 57th New York, were first published in 1888. Editor John M. Priest now offers a new edition of the journal, which includes the surgeon's accounts of events at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Petersburg.

White Mane Publishing Company, Inc., $19.95

J. Stephen Lang has gathered in one volume over four thousand questions and answers regarding all facets of the Civil War. These questions are arranged by topics such as "Daily Life in Wartime" and "Military Matters" and include both obscure and noted trivial facts.

Burd Street Press, $14.99

J.M.P.

In the Mail

Editor:

Two articles, in particular, stood out in my mind in the Summer 1996 issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

"Everybody Must Get Stoned: the Origins of Modern Drug Culture in Baltimore" by Jill Jonnes was a very sad, but true, piece concerning the demise of our culture. It was very sobering for me to consider how the growth of the drug culture and its corresponding damage to society, families, and individuals was coincident with the dismissal of Judeo-Christian values by our culture and the adoption of secular humanism in our schools. The piece was very well-written.

Contrast the subject matter of the above to the research note concerning Anne Coleman, "Keep a Letter in Hand: School Days at Cedar Park, 1830–1833," by Joan K. Quinn. On page 214 we see the parents' desire that their daughter Anne develop spiritual character through the study of the Bible, meditation and prayer. The emphasis and results of education certainly have changed in a century-and-a-half, and I am afraid, not for the better of society, families or individuals.

The preface and notes to the Coleman piece briefly mention her family's association with Cornwall, Pennsylvania. Moreover, for over a century the Colemans were the Cornwall Iron Furnace. *Cornwall: The People and Culture of an Industrial Camelot, 1890–1980,* by Carl Oblinger (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1984), briefly describes some of the nineteenth-century history of Cornwall. "Robert Coleman, who inherited Cornwall from the Grubbs in 1798, was among America's first millionaires. In the mid-1800s his heirs built a mansion consisting of fifty-two rooms. The wealth and dominance of the Coleman family once established were maintained throughout the nineteenth century, and were strengthened by an extraordinary paternalism." The Colemans did place great importance on the education of their children, had the means to accomplish it, and remained involved to assure its completion according to their firm religious beliefs. Cornwall is a fascinating site to visit for its history and architecture and is only a two-hour drive from Baltimore.

Thank you for the publication of these articles.

Harald B. Johnsson, III
Finksburg

Editor:

The article, "Everybody Must Get Stoned: The Origins of Modern Drug Culture in Baltimore," in the Summer issue of your magazine was, I am sure,

well researched, but I found at least one factual error which should be noted.

The article states, "Johnson had experienced the usual Baltimore affronts: back-of-the-trolley seating in streetcars and segregated drinking fountains and bathrooms, complete with signs indicating Colored, Whites." Our research in connection with what I believe to be the definitive history of streetcars in Baltimore showed that there never was segregated seating in city streetcars. There was a brief attempt in the early operation of horse cars (before the Civil War) to provide horse cars for blacks only; this was quickly discontinued after protests by *white* riders at being passed up by the "black" cars. Certainly, to my personal recollection, there was never segregated seating in my streetcar-riding lifetime (from the mid-1920s until 1963).

Interurban cars of the Washington, Baltimore and Annapolis Railroad did have segregated seating. I remember, at about the age of eleven, being surprised when told by a conductor that I was sitting in a "colored seat" and would have to move so that a lady of color could sit down; this was something new in my experience of which I had not even heard.

With regard to drinking fountains, I have no research to back me up, but I have no recollection of racial constraints on public drinking fountains, of which there were many. Baltimore was certainly a segregated city, both by law and by custom, but it did not go to the even further excesses practiced in the "deep South."

Paul W. Wirtz, Executive Vice President
Baltimore Streetcar Museum, Inc.

Jill Jonnes replies: As for the question of how much segregation there was in Baltimore, my understanding of how things were came from my interviews. And so it's perfectly possible that their recollections were somehow more severe.

Notices

Parker and Harris Genealogical Prize Winners

The Maryland Historical Society is pleased to announce the winners of two prizes for the best Maryland-related genealogical works received by the MHS library in 1995. The Norris Harris Prize for the best source book on Maryland is awarded to Mr. Francis P. O'Neill, compiler of *The Index of Obituaries and Marriages in The [Baltimore] Sun, 1871–1875* in two volumes. The Sumner A. and Dudrea Parker Prize for the best work on Maryland families is awarded to Patricia Wilkinson Weaver Balletta for *The Wilkinson Book, Being: The Ancestry and Descendants of Major General James Wilkinson of Calvert County, Maryland et ux Anne Biddle of Philadelphia, Pa., with Biographical Notes by John Fletcher Bosworth Wilkinson.* Ms. Balletta is the compiler, editor, and publisher of this volume. Congratulations to both winners.

Education Committee Essay Contest Winner

Joshua Civin, a spring graduate of Yale University, is the winner of this year's Education Committee Undergraduate Essay Contest for his article, "The Cost of Joining: The Maryland Abolition Society, Its Successors, and the Meaning of Voluntary Association, 1789–1819." Nicole Rinke of Frostburg State University and Jennifer Lynn Pitts of the University of Maryland at College Park receive honorable mention for their submissions. All three students are awarded one-year memberships to the Maryland Historical Society.

Mr. Civin also receives the $250 Eisenberg Essay Prize, which is provided by local author and philanthropist Gerson G. Eisenberg. Mr. Eisenberg, a longtime member of the MHS Education Committee, plans to fund this annual award in honor of Judy Van Dyke, who retired recently after twenty-three years as director of education at MHS.

Serving as judges in this year's contest were Dr. Charles B. Clark, a retired professor of history and political science who has been associated with many Maryland institutions, including Washington College and the University of Maryland; Dr. Robert J. Brugger, author and acquisitions editor at Johns Hopkins University Press; and Dr. James F. Adomanis, co-chair of the MHS Education Committee and director of the Maryland Center for the Study of History and Civic Education. The Education Committee Essay Contest is held annually and invites essays that focus on any subject of Maryland history and make use of primary sources. Next year's deadline for entries is June 15, 1997.

Political Paraphernalia at Howard County Historical Society

The Howard County Historical Society presents *Political Paraphernalia Past*

and Present, an exhibition of memorabilia of the political campaigns from Ulysses S. Grant through Bill Clinton. Objects such as Jimmy Carter's peanut-shaped radio and the bedroom slippers of Ronald and Nancy Reagan tell the story of America's changing attitude toward politics. For more information call 410-461-1050.

Fall Events at the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum

The Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum offers a variety of activities throughout the fall season. Visitors can learn fish decoy carving, attend waterfowl cruises, and even be a part of OysterFest '96. For a full calendar of events, please contact the museum at 410-745-2916.

Talbot County's Decorator Show House

The Historical Society of Talbot County presents its 1996 Decorator Show House in November and December. This year's featured residence, an eighteenth-century townhouse in Easton, will showcase under one roof the work of the mid-Atlantic region's best interior designers. The house will open to the public with a gala reception on November 1. For more information call 410-822-0773.

Pennsylvania Scholars-in-Residence Program

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission invites applications for its 1997–1998 Scholars-in-Residence Program. This program provides support for full-time research and study at any commission facility for a period of four to twelve consecutive weeks at a rate of $1200 per month. The program is open to all who are conducting research on Pennsylvania history, including but not limited to academic scholars, graduate students, and writers. Application deadline is January 17, 1997. For further information and application materials, write to the Division of History, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Box 1026, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 17108, or call 717-787-3034.

Microfilmed Lafayette Papers at the Library of Congress

A microfilm edition of the papers the Marquis de Lafayette held at the Chateau La Grange in Courpalay, France, has been completed and is now available through the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. The sixty-four reels of film cover the period from the 1780s to the 1830s and relate to Lafayette's youth, marriage, participation in the American and French revolutions, and his imprisonment in Prussia and Austria. Documents include correspondence, speeches, and memoirs; one item of note, handwritten by Lafayette, is a secret

code that he and George Washington employed during the American Revolution. Scholars may consult this film in the Manuscripts Reading Room at the Library of Congress.

Naval Institute Essay Contest

The U.S. Naval Institute, 118 Maryland Avenue, Annapolis, Maryland, 21402-5035, invites entries for its annual Arleigh Burke Essay Contest. The deadline for entries, which must relate to "the advancement of professional, literary, and scientific knowledge in the naval and maritime services, and the advancement of the knowledge of sea power," is December 1, 1996. For information about rules for content and submission and prizes (first prize is $3,000), contact Kimberly Park at 410-268-6110; fax 410-269-7940.

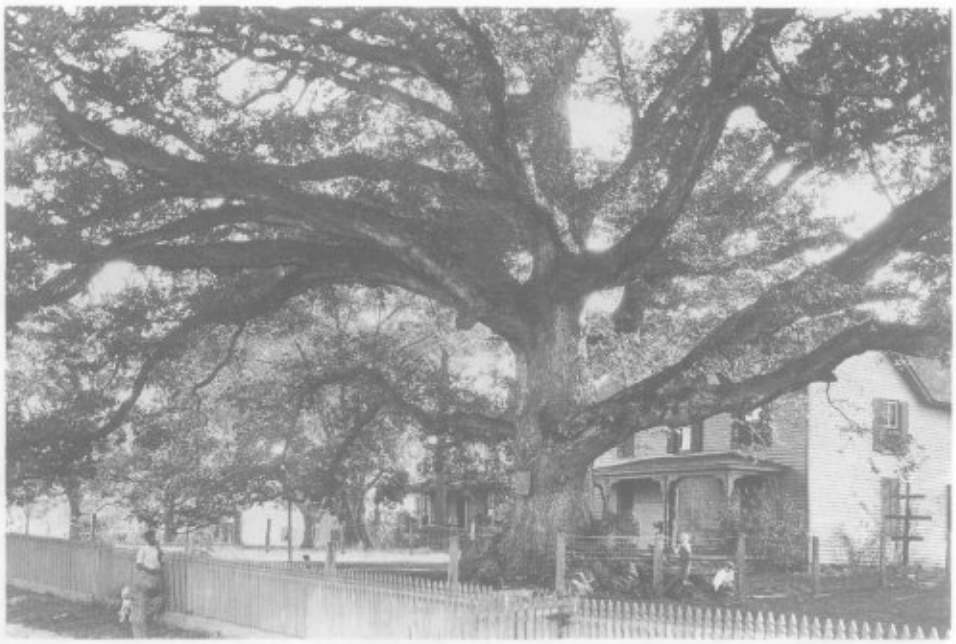
J.M.P.

Corrigenda

In the *MdHM*'s Summer 1996 "Portfolio," the photographs of William Henry Harrison and James K. Polk were inadvertently transposed in a production error. We apologize to readers and congratulate several sharp-eyed readers for catching it.

R.I.C.

Historic Trees of Maryland: A Series



Located in Talbot County near Easton, on Rt. 662, the Wye Oak shades more than half an acre, yet stands only ninety-five feet tall. Tree experts explain this oddity by pointing out the massive "knees" growing from its base, possibly caused by horses tethered beneath its limbs. Their repeated kicking caused scarring and the abnormal development of the trunk, a deformity that probably saved the tree from a nearby colonial-era sawmill.

Throughout its recorded history, the oak has survived disease, natural disaster, and at times neglect. An attack of fungus that seriously damaged and weakened the trunk prompted forestry officials to install a concealed manhole cover in its base, and they can now enter the tree to apply fungicides and insecticides. Lightning rods have been installed for protection, and more than eighteen hundred feet of steel cable is threaded through the branches to support the heavy crown.

Since this photograph was taken in 1921, the tree has lost several of its largest limbs, including the one shown here on the bottom right that measured seventy-five feet in length and weighed thirty tons. Governor Theodore McKeldin had the wood from one of these massive branches sent to a local mill where it was carved into souvenir paperweights and gavels for government officials. As it reaches its four hundred and sixty-sixth year, the Wye Oak continues to defy the odds of longevity and blooms again each spring.

P.D.A.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Summer Picture Puzzle: Tolchester Beach

The Summer 1996 Picture Puzzle depicts the picnic grove at Tolchester Beach in Kent County, circa 1910. Tolchester was opened in 1877 by the Tolchester Beach Improvement Company, an adjunct of the Tolchester Steamship Company. From June through September, families came for the day or to spend a week or two relaxing away from the city heat. The twenty-three mile trip across the Chesapeake Bay was two hours by boat from Baltimore. The steamships *Louise, Emma Giles, Express,* and the three *Tolchesters,* were among the vessels that took passengers from the Light Street wharves in Baltimore to the resort. Tolchester, twelve miles from Chestertown, with its beach, pavilion, hotel, picnic grove, and amusement park, encompassed fifty-five acres. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Tolchester was one of the most popular summer vacation excursions in the state.

With the opening of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge in 1952, vacationers could drive their cars to the Eastern Shore. More modern summer vacation destinations such as Ocean City began to replace Tolchester in popularity. As a result, in 1961 the Tolchester Hotel was torn down and the amusement rides sold. In 1962 the park closed due to bankruptcy and was deserted until 1969, when contractor David A. Bramble purchased the site and built the Tolchester Marina. The Tolchester Beach bandstand, the only known surviving structure now stands as a museum piece of amusement park architecture at the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum in St. Michaels.

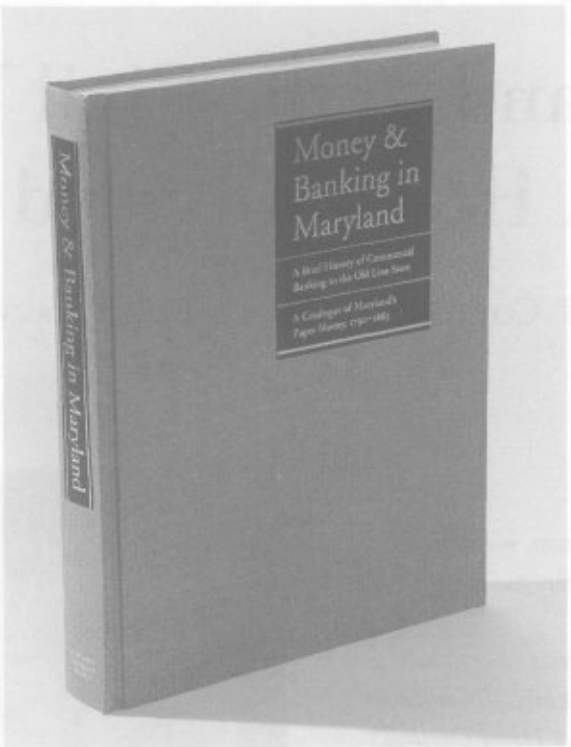
Our congratulations to Mr. Percy Martin and Mr. Raymond Martin, who correctly identified the Spring 1996 Picture Puzzle. Please send your answers to: Picture Puzzle, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201-4674.

Test your knowledge of western Maryland history by identifying the location, event, and date of the photograph on the preceding pages.

A.A.

New from the Publications Division

Maryland Historical Society . . .



Money and Banking in Maryland

A Brief History of Commercial Banking in the Old Line State with a Catalogue of Maryland's Early Currency

By Stuart R. Bruchey, Denwood N. Kelly, Armand M. Shank, Jr. and Thomas S. Gordon

8-1/2 x 11. 464 pages. Full cloth binding. Full-color endpapers. Illustrated with over 1,500 halftones showing Maryland's paper money, with detailed annotations on the issuing banks and engravers, from the late eighteenth century to the Civil War.

Published with the generous support of the Maryland Bankers Association on the occasion of its centenary celebration.

$65.00 ($58.50 to MHS members)

Maryland Historical Society books are distributed nationally to the book trade by Alan C. Hood and Company, P.O. Box 775, Chambersburg PA 17201. MHS member orders to: Publications Marketing, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore MD 21201. Please enclose check or money order for $58.50 plus $2.92 sales tax (if shipment is to a Maryland address) and $3.00 for postage and handling.

Letters to the Editor are welcome. Letters should be as brief as possible. Address Editor's Mail, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. Include the writer's name, address, and daytime telephone number. Letters may be edited for clarity and space.

The Maryland Historical Magazine welcomes submissions from authors. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch (preferably) or 5.25-inch disks for IBM (or compatible) PCs or Macintosh. Preferred word-processing programs are Wordperfect 6.0 or Microsoft Word 5.1. Guidelines for contributors are available on request. Address the Managing Editor.

The Journal of the Maryland Historical Society